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THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH CLUB
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PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

After Richard Cooper, Edinburgh, 1745

From a coloured Engraving in the collection of W. B. Blaikie

THE BOOK OF THE
OLD EDINBURGH
CLUB

SECOND VOLUME



EDINBURGH

PRINTED BY T. AND A. CONSTABLE
FOR THE MEMBERS OF THE CLUB

1909



1766856

NOTE

THE Coloured Frontispiece is a gift to the Club by the President, Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE, and the series of photographs of the Flodden Wall is a gift by Mr. W. MOIR BRYCE.

Further, the Council desire to express their thanks to Mr. F. M. CHRYSTAL and Mr. JOHN KAY for photographs of numerous subjects used in the illustrations; and to Mr. W. T. OLDRIEVE of H.M. Office of Works for the Plan of the excavations at St. Giles'.

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The Sketches of the Cannon-ball House are from photographs by Mr. F. M. Chrystal.

The Sketches of Sculptured Stones are from photographs by Mr. John Kay and Mr. F. M. Chrystal.

The Illustrations of 'Old Edinburgh Cries' are facsimiles from 'Cries of Edinburgh characteristically represented, accompanied with views of several principal Buildings of the City,' published in Edinburgh 1803, a rare booklet in the collection of Mr. William Cowan.

The Sketches of the Excavations at St. Giles' and the doorway of the Old Surgeons' Hall are from photographs by Mr. Francis C. Inglis.

EDINBURGH AT THE TIME
OF THE OCCUPATION OF
PRINCE CHARLES

EDINBURGH AT THE TIME OF THE OCCUPATION OF PRINCE CHARLES¹

IN 1745 Edinburgh was to outward appearance a mediæval city, confined within the wall which had been built after the battle of Flodden and slightly enlarged in the seventeenth century to take in Heriot's Hospital. This wall ran from the Castle to the Grassmarket, thence by the Vennel to Lauriston, and along Lauriston Place to Bristo Place, then turned to the north till it reached Bristo Port, then eastward to Potterrow Port, and still eastward, taking in the University, the old Infirmary, and Chirurgeons' (Surgeons') Hall, followed the line of Drummond Street until it reached the Pleasance. It then turned north along the west side of St. Mary's Wynd to the Netherbow Port at the head of the Canongate; then further north along Leith Wynd (now lost in Jeffrey Street) till at the foot of the Calton Hill it reached Trinity College, removed half a century ago to make room for the railway terminus. Here the wall stopped, and the north side of the town was defended by the Nor' Loch, which ran from the present Waverley Station to the foot of the Castle rock, an area now covered by the North British Railway lines. An outwork of the Castle known as the Wellhouse Tower defended the head of the loch; its ruins are still visible in Princes Street Gardens.

There were six principal gates or ports as they were called:—The West Port, Bristo Port, Potterrow Port, Cowgate Port, Netherbow Port, and the New Port, where the Waverley Market now stands.

¹ The substance of a Lecture delivered to the Old Edinburgh Club, March 1909.

Outside the walls were two suburbs: the Canongate, which was the fashionable or court suburb, and Portsburgh, which was the trade or business quarter, and in modern Edinburgh occupies that part of the town west of Grass-market, and roughly bounded by West Port Street, Lady Lawson Street, and the King's Stables Road. The High Street was even then celebrated as one of the noblest streets in Europe. It was the backbone of the city, from which radiated those innumerable courts and wynds containing houses of extraordinary height, and of mediæval picturesqueness. In these crowded tenements the inhabitants resided, gentles and commons together, in flats, closely packed like passengers and crew in the decks of a ship; and, as in a ship, discipline was strictly observed, class distinctions were not violated. Here are the occupants of a typical first-class tenement in Dickson's Close some years later. First floor, Mr. Stirling, fishmonger; second, Mrs. Urquhart, lodging-house keeper; third floor, the Countess-Dowager of Balcarres; fourth, Mrs. Buchan of Kelloe; fifth flat, Misses Elliot, milliners and mantua-makers; garrets, a great variety of tailors and other tradesmen. This contiguity produced a neighbourly feeling among classes and masses. There was everywhere a friendly style of address. We find the Provost at Council meetings calling his councillors by their Christian names, the advocates and writers doing likewise; and even the judges on the Bench addressing each other in the same familiar way.

Social entertainments were chiefly confined to tea-parties. There were few hackney-coaches, and the common means of genteel locomotion was the sedan-chair.

All business, legal, commercial, and official, was transacted in taverns, the consequence of which was deep and constant drinking. I have been unable to discover the number of public-houses in 1745, but eleven years later there were 600 licences for the city and royalty of Edinburgh, and about the same number for the county of Midlothian. In

1745 the Provost and Magistrates chiefly patronised a certain Lucky Clark, whose public-house was in Writers' Court.

Although taverns were numerous, inns were few and notoriously bad and dirty; the wine, however, was generally pronounced to be excellent. Visitors to the city usually preferred to reside in lodgings, the letting of which was a considerable industry. The principal inns about this period were the 'White Horse,' off the Canongate, for travellers by the east road; the 'White Hart,' in the Grassmarket, for travellers using the west road; and 'Palfrey's,' at the head of the Cowgate, which was largely patronised by farmers.

The relationship of members of aristocratic families with trade at this period is worthy of remark.

Andrew Drummond, the founder of the great London banking-house, a brother of Lord Strathallan, works all the week as a silversmith in Parliament Close, on Sunday puts on a good coat and sword, and keeps company that drink claret. Dundas of Fingask keeps a mercer's shop, where he sells black silk stockings at 15s., fine scarlet cloth at 13s. 4d., and so on. Yet his son and shopman marries in 1744 an earl's daughter, while Fingask becomes an Edinburgh bailie. His second son, Lawrence Dundas, made a fortune, and became a baronet and M.P. He nearly got a peerage, but George III. refused it, having heard that in his youth Dundas had served behind the counter; *his* son, however, became Earl of Zetland. John Traile, the bookseller in Parliament Close, is a cousin of the Jacobite Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and Coltness. Gavin Hamilton, a bailie of Edinburgh, also a bookseller, was a son of the Principal of the University and grandson of Hamilton of Airdrie; his partner was John Balfour, a brother of the laird of Pilrig. James Stirling, grandson of Lord Carden, a member of the Jacobite family of Keir, a man of considerable literary and scientific attainments, becomes manager of the Leadhill Mines, and works them better than any plebeian. The Earl of Sutherland desires for the son of a friend of his own, an army officer of

good Forbes family, an apprenticeship to a ship-carpenter. A family of ten sisters, daughters of a Perthshire laird, are 'ladies' mantua-makers,' but frequent the best society.

The medical men too are of excellent family, particularly among the Jacobites. Lady George Murray is the daughter of a doctor and laird, a cadet of the Ochtertyre family, who had practised in Perth. Sir Stewart Threipland of Fingask, afterwards President of the Royal College of Physicians, is one of Prince Charles's doctors. There are also Lochiel's brother, Dr. Archibald Cameron, the last of the Jacobite martyrs; George Colville, a brother of Lord Culross; George Lauder, a cousin of the Laird of Valleyfield; John Rattray, Prince Charles's surgeon, whose father, also a doctor, was head of the ancient family of Rattray of Craighall. It is strange to find General Reid (whose real name was Robertson), the founder of the Music Chair, complaining bitterly some years later of his daughter's marrying a 'vile apothecary,' although his son-in-law, Dr. Stark Robertson, was not only a distinguished physician, but was also his own nephew.

Edinburgh took scant interest in Imperial politics, cared little about the Squadrone, or the Argathelians, or the Broad Bottom, or political divisions known in London. Society was divided into two great and well-understood parties, the Whigs and the Jacobites. They had no more desire to take arms for their parties than Radicals and Unionists have now. It was a sentimental division, and it is pleasant to read of the friendly chaff that went on. Here is a toast given by a Whig magistrate to a mixed company, after the landing of Prince Charles in Scotland. 'The first toast was "The King abroad" (George II. was in Hanover, and the Chevalier in Rome): the second, "The Prince at home" (the Prince of Wales was in London, and Prince Charles in the Highlands): the third, "the Duke abroad" (Cumberland was in Flanders, and Prince Henry Stuart, Duke of York, was in France): and the fourth, "The Land of Cakes, and a good Steward to divide them."

To these,' says the chronicler, 'party itself could take no exception.' I imagine, however, that a few months later the jest might have cost the humorist his liberty.

We are told that in Edinburgh at this juncture, one-third of the men were Jacobites and two-thirds were Whigs, but among the ladies two-thirds were Jacobites and one-third Whigs. I think the Jacobites must socially have given themselves exasperating airs, for I find the Whig ladies defending themselves. A contemporary manuscript contains a list of Edinburgh Ladies of about 1744, which is thus entitled :—

'An impartial and genuine List of the Ladys on the Whig or Jacobite Partie; taken in hand merely to show that the common accusation and slander rashly thrown on the Female sex as to their being all Jacobites is false and groundless; as upon a calculation the Whigs are far superior in number and not inferior either in rank, beauty, or solidity.' Some of the remarks on the ladies are rather amusing.

On the Whig side, for instance, we find that Lady Helen Boyle is 'genteel enough'; Miss Betty Balfour of Pilrig 'does not want humour'; her sister Miss Peggie is 'well lookt'; and Miss Bessie Bell is 'a very genteel girl and a good dancer.' On the Jacobite side the remarks are not always so complimentary. Lady Mary Cochrane is 'a witt, and on the present occasion red wud'; Miss Crafoord of Redbraes is 'crane necked'; Miss Cellars is 'conceited'; Miss Carnegie is 'thrawn'; Miss Cunningham is 'apostate'; and Mrs. Nanse Callendar is 'very violent.'

The wine drunk by the gentles was claret, which cost then 1s. 8d. the chopin, or about 1s. 6d. a modern quart bottle, but ale was largely used on ordinary occasions. Port was all but unknown,¹ and, strange to say, whisky was but little drunk. Duncan Forbes of Culloden was the great

¹ Port wine seems to have been first imported in 1743. It was given as a great rarity by a Hessian prince at a banquet to the magistrates of Stirling in 1746, but the company were offended at the innovation (*Ochertyre MSS. printed in Scotland and Scotsmen in the 18th Century*, ii. p. 82).

encourager of the use of whisky as a patriotic antidote to foreign spirits, and to tea, which he abominated.

The drink of the commons was small ale, which then cost 1*d.* the chopin, or less than a penny for the modern quart bottle ; but tea at 9*s.* a lb. was beginning to be used for breakfast, even by the working-classes, to the great distress of all true patriots.

Wheaten bread was the staple for gentles and commons ; the price of the 4-lb. loaf was fixed by the Edinburgh magistrates in 1745 at 5*d.* for the finest and 2½*d.* for the cheapest household bread.

We are informed that people of fashion (and I presume this includes advocates) dined at three ; writers, shopkeepers, and such like, at two.

The language of all was the old-fashioned, broad Doric. We are told that the Marquis of Tullibardine and the Duke of Perth talked broad Scots, and had difficulty in expressing themselves in English.

The Scottish members of Parliament and the judges and lawyers could hardly be understood at Westminster. Memoirs of the time teem with witticisms at their expense. Edinburgh people had not yet learned the English language, but they were rapidly acquiring it, and there was at this time in or about Edinburgh a galaxy of young men, all Whigs, who a few years later took English literature by storm. Among these were William Robertson, Hugh Blair, David Hume, Adam Smith, and John Home.

The civil and military government of the city was practically what had been fixed by James VI. in 1583, and which continued to the Reform Bill time. The magistrates were the Lord Provost, four Bailies, a Treasurer, and a Dean of Guild. The ordinary Town Council, which along with the magistrates included an 'old Provost' and seven 'old magistrates,' who were those who had last demitted office, three merchant councillors or free burgesses, and two trades councillors, who elected their successors, together with six craftsmen chosen by the Council from lists sent up by the

Incorporated Trades of the city. This 'ordinary' council consisted of twenty-five members, but in addition to them eight 'extraordinary council deacons' were selected from the chairmen or deacons of the Trades to sit with the council on certain occasions, and the larger body of thirty-three members was known as the 'Extraordinary Council.' The elections took place at the end of September.¹

The Provost was Lord-Lieutenant, High Sheriff, Coroner, Colonel of the Train Bands, Captain of the City Guard, and Admiral of the Firth of Forth, and this last office was far from being nominal. In 1754, when stout George Drummond was Provost, Captain Sir Hugh Palliser of the *Sea-horse* (the ship which Louis Stevenson has immortalised in *Catriona*) was actually imprisoned for six weeks in the Tolbooth for refusing to give up a merchant seaman apprentice whom he had impressed.

The train bands, although existing in theory, were now practically obsolete, and the City Guard was a mere police which consisted of ninety-six men.

Though at the first glance our city appeared both to the eye and in constitution frankly mediæval, yet on examining further we find within its walls the beginnings of nearly every modern institution and modern charity. Indeed, I doubt if at the present day, when the city has grown ten-

¹ The remarkable and complicated system of election by which the conflicting interests of the 'Merchants' or burgess freemen and the 'Trades' were preserved would occupy too much space to be detailed here. It is to be found in a little book entitled *The Sett of Edinburgh*, of which there is more than one edition. The Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh were fourteen in number:—

1. Surgeons, with whom until 1675 the Barbers were incorporated; 2. Goldsmiths; 3. Skinners; 4. Furriers; 5. Hammermen; 6. Wrights; 7. Masons;
8. Tailors; 9. Baxters (Bakers); 10. Fleshers; 11. Cordiners (Shoemakers);
12. Websters (Weavers); 13. Waukers (Fullers); 14. Bonnet-makers.

The 'Convener of Trades,' or elected general chairman of the incorporated crafts-men, was an officer not officially acknowledged until 1740. The holder of the office was not *ex officio* a member of the Council, although to-day the holder of that title is officially a member of the Corporation, and is the only survival of the old organisation of the Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh. In 1745 George Lauder, who went out with Prince Charles, was Deacon of the Surgeons and Convener of Trades.

fold, there is proportionally so much public spirit or private charity as there was in 1745, when the population of the town was, along with its suburbs, somewhere about 40,000.

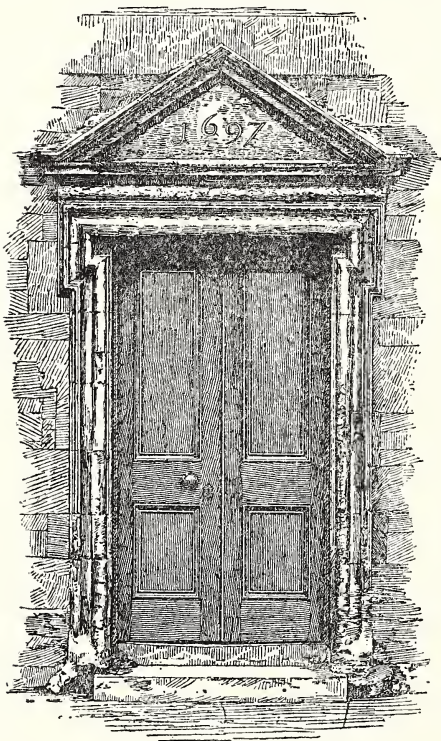
The University, founded by the town in 1582 as a mere college, was now fully equipped with four faculties, and had been a degree-giving University for nearly forty years. It stood on its present extended site. The High School, built

167 years previously, stood in the High School Yards at the foot of Infirmary Street.

George Heriot's Hospital had been open for 117 years. George Watson's Hospital, now part of the Royal Infirmary, was built in 1738.

The Merchant Maidens' Hospital, then fifty years old, occupied a site at Bristo Port and the Trades Maidens' Hospital had for forty-one years stood not far off on the west side of Horse Wynd.

The Surgeons, then an incorporated trade, had their fine hall equipped with a Surgical Museum in the High School Yards, below the old Infirmary, where the building still stands.¹



¹ This interesting old building is at present used by the officers' training corps of the Territorial Army. The building has been considerably altered since 1745, but the old seventeenth-century doorway still remains. As there is reason to believe that there is a proposal to dismantle the building, a drawing of the doorway from a photograph by Mr. F. C. Inglis is here given as a record. It is to be hoped that if it is found necessary to rebuild the old hall this interesting doorway may be preserved and perhaps used in the new building. An engraving of the hall in its original state is to be found in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*, 1753.

The College of Physicians had existed for sixty-four years with powers to try, and along with a magistrate to punish, all unqualified practitioners, and to visit all apothecaries' shops and destroy adulterated drugs. There was little love lost between them and the surgeons, whom they looked down upon as mere tradesmen. Their charter prevented their interfering with apothecaries or surgeons in their practice of curing wounds, contusions, fractures, dislocations, tumours, ulcers, and other external operations. The Physicians' Hall was then at the Cowgate Port.

But the pride and glory of Edinburgh was its new Infirmary, which Edinburgh owed to the energy of George Drummond. Originally projected in 1725, a temporary building, leased for the purpose, was opened in 1729, and in 1738 the magnificent building, still doing duty in part as accessory buildings for the University, was begun. It was finally completed this very year, 1745, though partially opened four years previously. The new Hospital accommodated 283 patients, and was then considered one of the finest in the world. In the building of this institution the citizens had not only contributed money, but stones, timber, lime, slates, glass, etc. The farmers had lent their carts, and many citizens, masters, journeymen, and labourers had contributed their time gratis. In 1745 the medical men not only gave their time and skill, but also supplied drugs and medicines at their own expense. It was not until three years later that a Dispensary, or, as they called it, an apothecary's shop, was added to the Royal Infirmary.

The Charity Workhouse, which such of us as are middle aged remember on the site of the present Drill Hall in Forrest Road, had been built two years before and accommodated 596 persons, who were made to work at their trades and to teach the children, who were educated in spinning, weaving, knitting, carding, and the stronger girls in duties to fit them for domestic service. There were no poor-rates. The 'family' was supported chiefly by church-door collections.

The city was supplied with water from the springs at Comiston and the neighbourhood. The system was introduced in 1674, when the magistrates employed a foreign adventurer, Peter Bruschi, who carried the water in a three-inch leaden pipe to a reservoir on the Castle Hill, from whence it was distributed to various taps throughout the town. There was no water-rate, an attempt to impose a tax by way of hearth-money having been successfully resisted by the citizens. Of drainage or plumbing there was practically none, and the system of street-cleaning was a disgrace to civilisation.

Passing mention may be made of a few other institutions. Of Libraries, there was the great Advocates' Library, founded in 1682. The nucleus of the magnificent University Library left to the city in 1580, two years before the University was founded, had been transferred later on by the Town Council to their New College. The Signet Library was twenty-three years old; while for ordinary readers, Allan Ramsay, who had been in business as a bookseller since 1726, had founded in the Lawnmarket a circulating library, precursor of our modern 'Douglas and Foulis.'

The Philosophical Society, which became the Royal Society forty-three years later, was founded by Ruddiman in 1739. The study of Botany was pursued in the Physick Gardens, now part of the Waverley terminus. An Astronomical Observatory had been projected by Maclaurin, and funds for building one had already been collected.

The Theatre was fiercely opposed by the clergy, 'in consequence of which,' it is quaintly said, 'the theatre came to be unusually frequented.' Being contrary to law, stage-plays could only be given by a legal fiction, and the custom was to advertise a concert of music in which a play would be given in the intervals.¹ These performances took place in

¹ The following is a specimen advertisement from the *Courant* of 27th January 1743, which shows how legal difficulties were overcome: 'By desire of a Lady of Quality, for the benefit of Mrs. Hamilton, on Monday next, being the 31st instant, will be performed, a concert of vocal and instrumental musick. After the first part of the concert, will be given, gratis, the Mourning Bride; to which will be added, gratis, the Toy Shop.'

the Tailors' Hall in the Cowgate, now part of Campbell's Brewery.

A weekly concert, meeting in St. Mary's Wynd, had been an institution since 1728, and since 1710 Edinburgh Society had met in the winter months at a weekly ball in the Assembly Rooms in the West Bow. Until 1745 the Assembly was a private venture, but in the following year the ball-room was leased by the managers of the Infirmary and the Charity Workhouse, when the profits (the charge was 2s. 6d.) were divided between these charities, and yielded £100 a year to each.

Though no official Scottish Academy then existed in Edinburgh, the practice and study of the fine arts was not neglected. Allan Ramsay, son of the poet, who afterwards became portrait-painter to George III. and settled in England, was then practising his profession in Edinburgh and laying the foundations of his future fame. As early as 1729 an association of eleven laymen and eighteen professional artists (of whom both the Allan Ramsays, father and son, were members) had been formed with the title of 'The Edinburgh School of St. Luke for the Encouragement of these Excellent Arts of Painting, Sculpture, Architecture, etc., and Improvement of the Students.' Courses of study for both summer and winter were arranged, and a room for the classes was granted by the University; but the project was a failure and the school ceased to exist in 1731. Art teaching, however, soon revived. The treasurer of the school of St. Luke was Richard Cooper, an engraver and an excellent draughtsman. He was a native of London who first came to Edinburgh early in the eighteenth century on a visit to Alexander Guthrie, a brother artist whom he had met at Rome. Cooper was prevailed upon to settle in Edinburgh and there practise the art of line-engraving, then in its infancy. He obtained considerable success in his profession and was in the habit of taking in apprentices, the most distinguished of whom was Robert Strange, who afterwards became the most famous engraver of his time. But Cooper not only taught his apprentices.

Shortly after the collapse of the 'School of St. Luke' he opened a 'Winter's Academy,' which was of the greatest use to students and young artists, who were charged the modest fee of half a guinea.¹

The city churches proper were seven in number, four of which formed subdivisions of St. Giles' and were known as The New Church, The Old Church, The Tolbooth, and Haddow's Hole Church. There were also Trinity College Church, Old Greyfriars, and New Greyfriars. Besides these city churches, there were within the walls the Tron Church and Lady Yester's, and outside were the West Kirk and Canongate Kirk. Each congregation had two ministers. The old Moderates predominated, but the Evangelicals, or Highflyers, as they were nicknamed, who a century afterwards became the Free Church, were not unrepresented. It is interesting to read of their leader, Dr. Alexander Webster, then minister of the Tolbooth. He was a friend of Whitefield and the Methodists, a supporter of the revival of Cambuslang in 1742. A man of great business ability, he founded and carried through the noble scheme of the Ministers' Widows' Fund, which flourishes to this day. So great was his busi-

¹ Cooper built for himself a somewhat pretentious house of three stories on the east side of St. John Street in the Canongate, one of the earliest houses erected in that locality. He must have had excellent opportunities of seeing Prince Charles, and the coloured engraving of the Prince, dated 1745, of which a reproduction is here given as a frontispiece, may, perhaps, be taken as a fairly accurate presentment of Prince Charles at this time, though probably touched with caricature. Copies of Cooper's engravings are exceedingly rare. He is sometimes confounded with his son Richard, who taught drawing to Queen Charlotte and was drawing-master at Eton College. A portrait of the father by Jeremiah Davison is in the collection of the Royal Scottish Academy.

Robert Strange during the Jacobite occupation was commissioned to engrave a portrait of Prince Charles (Plate, p. 12), which is the only authenticated portrait of the Prince done in Scotland. The frontispiece and the plates at pp. 12 and 48, reproductions of the work of Cooper and Strange, give a fairly representative idea of this early school of Scottish engraving. Hack-work of the period by the same artists will be found in the first edition of the *Edinburgh Medical Essays*, 1733-44, and in some of Ruddiman's publications. Cooper's memory is preserved by 'Cooper's Entry' in the Canongate, a close a few yards east of St. John Street, where he owned some property, and where it is believed his art school was situated. Strange's studio was in Stewart's Close. He was twenty-four years old in 1745.



PRINCE CHARLES EDWARD

After the Engraving by Sir Robert Strange, done at Edinburgh, 1745

ness capacity that he was constantly consulted by the Magistrates in the town's affairs. The extraordinary thing to us is, that while he was a man of the most sincere piety, the spiritual director of the most pious evangelical ladies of the day, he was, at the same time, the most noted toper and boon-companion in all Edinburgh. It was said that he had drunk enough claret at the town's expense to float a seventy-four-gun ship. He was an uncompromising opponent of the Jacobites.

The United Presbyterian Church was represented by the Seceders' Meeting-house, off Bristo, with Adam Gib as minister. The Episcopalians had a licensed Church of England Chapel in Blackfriars Wynd. The Nonjuring Scots Episcopal clergy who had refused the oaths to the reigning dynasty could only meet clandestinely in private houses.

There were no Roman Catholic places of worship, but I find Catholics meeting and a bishop being consecrated in private. There was a Quakers' Meeting-house; there was no Jews' Synagogue, nor was there any Temperance Society.

There were two Banks in Edinburgh, the Old Bank, now the Bank of Scotland, founded in 1697, whose office was in Bank Close, off the Lawnmarket; and the New Bank, now the Royal Bank, founded in 1727, with premises in a close almost opposite the Cross.

The Post-office, in 1745, ran three mails a week to London, which took ordinarily five days. A mail was despatched weekly to Inverness, thrice a week to Aberdeen, and twice a week to most parts of Scotland. Postage was 6*d.* to London, 2*d.* to any place within fifty miles of Edinburgh, 3*d.* up to eighty miles, and 4*d.* to any other place in Scotland. The Edinburgh postal revenue was about £7000 per annum.

Linen was the staple manufacture. Brewing was a considerable industry; the breweries were for the most part situated in the district between the Cowgate and the Southern Wall.

There were at least four printing-offices and many book-

sellers' shops. The art of stereotyping, invented by William Ged, an Edinburgh goldsmith, whose first book from stereotyped plates was published in 1739, was being developed in Edinburgh by his son James, a printer, who worked with the greatest secrecy in a printing-office in Swan's Close. The family was assisted in their enterprise by the Duke of Perth, and by his influence young Ged went out as a captain in the duke's Jacobite regiment. He was taken prisoner during the campaign, and was the first Jacobite officer to be tried and sentenced to death. James Ged was, however, ultimately pardoned, but was obliged to emigrate to Jamaica. His plant was left behind and lost, and the development of his art was set back for more than a generation.¹

Two newspapers were published in Edinburgh, the *Caledonian Mercury*, which became the Jacobite organ, and the *Evening Courant*, the Government supporter. They appeared three times a week. The *Scots Magazine*, published monthly, was in its seventh year.

The press laws were severe and often savagely enforced by the magistrates. Only eleven days before Prince Charles entered Edinburgh, the aged scholar Thomas Ruddiman, who was Keeper of the Advocates' Library, and proprietor of the *Caledonian Mercury*, was fined £5, sent to jail for two days, and made to insert a humiliating apology in his journal for printing an ordinary piece of news, which if not absolutely accurate, was very nearly so. The following year his son, for reprinting a paragraph from a London paper 'with significant italics,' which seems quite inoffensive to modern readers, was thrown into jail, where he contracted a disease from which he died shortly after his release.²

¹ Stereotyping was re-invented by Alexander Tilloch, a Glasgow journalist, with the help of Robert Foulis, the younger son of the celebrated Glasgow printer, about 1780. An edition in Greek of Xenophon's *Anabasis* and some chap-books were stereotyped, and the practice was again dropped. Stereotyping did not come into general use until the nineteenth century was some years old.

² Another flagrant case about this period was that of Robert Drummond of Swan's Close, in whose office James Ged worked at his father's stereotypes. Drummond did

Horse-races were held on the Sands of Leith, a beautiful beach now reclaimed and covered by the docks on the east of the harbour. These races, which had been held ever since the Restoration, were officially patronised by the Edinburgh Town Council, and indeed to a certain extent appear to have been under their management, for considerable sums are recorded in the Treasurer's Accounts for advertising the races, and for the expenses of the Council when attending them.

One more institution may be mentioned—the Honourable Company of Edinburgh Golfers, which was founded at Leith Links in 1744.

Every reader of golfing literature has seen Thomas Mathison's poem of 'The Goff,' published in 1743. I quote a few lines :—

Rattray for skill and Crosse for strength renowned.
 Stuart and Leslie beat the sandy ground.
 Gigantic *Biggar* here full oft is seen
 Like huge Behemoth on an Indian Green ;
 His bulk enormous scarce can scape the eyes,
 Amazed spectators wonder how he plies.
 Yea, here great *Forbes*, patron of the just,
 The dread of villains and the good man's trust,
 When spent with toils in serving humankind,
 His body recreates, and unbends his mind.

Forbes, the Secretary of the Club, was the Lord President of the Court of Session. *Biggar* was a Lieutenant-Colonel in the 37th Regiment. He went out with Hawley to fight Prince Charlie, and was killed at the battle of Falkirk. His portrait may be seen in the Club-house of the Honourable Company at Muirfield.

Rattray was the first recorded captain of the Honourable

not conceal his Jacobitism, and during the occupation he printed Jacobite manifestoes and pamphlets. When Provost Stewart was acquitted in 1747 he printed a copy of verses uncomplimentary to the civic authorities. For this offence he was imprisoned, pilloried, and then banished from the town and deprived of his liberties as a free burgess. On two subsequent occasions, for press offences which now seem trivial, he was imprisoned and his plant confiscated.

Company. He won the silver club in 1744 and again in 1745, and was captain until 1747. He went out as Prince Charles's body-surgeon. Well was it for him that he was a friend of Lord President Duncan Forbes, in whose handwriting the minute chronicling Rattray's golfing victory may still be seen. Rattray was made prisoner at Culloden, and would certainly have been hanged but for the intervention of his golfing friend Duncan Forbes. It is on record that his life and that of his brother surgeon George Lauder were the only favours that the great President ever received for his unparalleled services to King George's Government.

The Government of Scotland was locally administered by several great officers of state. Duncan Forbes of Culloden was Lord President of the Court of Session. Andrew Fletcher of Milton held the office of Lord Justice-Clerk. Of him there is need to say little except that he was particularly disliked by the great Dundas family, whose head, Lord Arniston, consistently calls Fletcher 'that puppy.'¹

The Lord Advocate was Robert Craigie of Glendoick, an admirable lawyer, but not much of a man of affairs, and we find a contemporary hinting that Craigie was hardly fit for his position. In any case he seems to have taken little prominent part at the time.

The Solicitor-General, Robert Dundas, was the son of Lord Arniston. He was a young man of fashion and of great industry and ability, who had become Solicitor at an early age, and was now in his thirty-third year. He shared his father's dislike for the Lord Justice-Clerk.

The Commander-in-Chief was Sir John Cope, who had been appointed to supersede General Guest the previous year. Although Cope had been thirty-eight years in the army, he had seen little service, but he had led the second line at Dettingen under the eyes of George II., by whom he had been decorated. In a confidential letter of the Under Secretary of State, we are told 'he had both parts and address to acquire the friendship of the

¹ *Arniston Memoirs*, p. 148.

great, and to make it useful to himself. You will find him easy, well bred, and affable'; but he is 'an absolute stranger in the country.' Sir John Clerk of Penicuik gives us the further information that he was 'a little, dressy, finical man.'

The Deputy-Governor and Commandant of the Castle was General Preston,¹ a vigorous veteran, aged eighty-six.

General Guest,¹ who was eighty-five years of age, again became Commander-in-Chief after Cope's flight. He was, says Sir John Clerk, 'a very worthy man, who in his time had been an active, diligent soldier, but who could now scarcely stir out of his room.'

Of civic authorities only three need be introduced.

Colin Maclaurin, a Highlander from Argyllshire, at that time the most celebrated mathematician in Great Britain, was Professor of Mathematics in the University.

George Drummond, a stout old Highlander, who had

¹ A good deal of inaccurate matter has been written about the positions of Preston and Guest during the Jacobite occupation of Edinburgh, some writers affirming that Guest had been sent to Edinburgh to supersede Preston. The facts seem to be these:— Guest had been in chief command in Scotland previous to Cope's appointment in 1744 (see *Culloden Papers*, p. 364; *Memoirs of Sir John Clerk of Penicuik*, p. 182), although whether this was a temporary or a substantive appointment is not recorded. He also held the substantive post of Barrack-master of Scotland, and on his supersession by Cope he seems to have remained in Edinburgh; at any rate I can discover no mention in any gazette of his leaving his duties in Scotland or being sent back. He was certainly never appointed Deputy-Governor of the castle. The governorship of the castle was an honorary office held in 1745 by Lord Mark Kerr. Preston had been appointed Deputy-Governor during the Jacobite Rising of 1715; he was never superseded, but held the post, which was probably a sinecure in ordinary times of peace, until his death in 1748 (*Scots Magazine*, 1748, p. 355). Preston was placed in command of the castle by Cope when he left Edinburgh for the Highlands, and Guest in general military command at Edinburgh 'and those parts' (*Report of the Proceedings of the Board, etc. . . on Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Cope*, p. 117). On the approach of the Jacobite army Guest retired to the castle, where he exercised his general command, while Preston under him held the local command of the castle. After the battle of Prestonpans and the flight of Cope, Guest became Commander-in-Chief in Scotland until superseded by Hawley at the end of December, with an interval of a fortnight in November, during which General Handsyde held the chief command (*Scots Magazine*, 1745, p. 591). The designation used by Guest in his official correspondence is 'Lieut.-General and Commander-in-Chief of all His Majesty's Forces, Castles, Forts, and Barracks in North Britain.' An excellent memoir of General Preston is given in Lady Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire*, p. 365.

fought for King George at Sheriffmuir, was Commissioner of Customs, and the leader of the civic Whig party. He had been Lord Provost twenty years before, and was now in his fifty-seventh year. After the '45 he was five times re-elected to the civic chair. If a monument were desired for this admirable citizen, we might point to the Royal Infirmary, which was due to his enterprise, or to the Royal Exchange or the North Bridge, which were his designing ; were it not that he devised a far greater monument—George Drummond was the founder of modern Edinburgh.

The Lord Provost was Archibald Stewart, younger son of Sir Robert Stewart of Allanbank, first baronet, and grandson of Sir James Stewart of Coltness who was Lord Provost of Edinburgh in the reign of Charles I. and again during the Commonwealth. The Provost was Member of Parliament for the city. He was then forty-seven years of age, a wine-merchant, who had vaults at Leith, and goods yards near the Infirmary. In the Town Council he led the Jacobite party.

Prince Charles, accompanied by seven adventurers, had landed in Arisaig on July 25. The first rumour of his landing reached Edinburgh on the 8th of August, and Cope, like a good soldier, at once took precautionary measures. He directed the bakers of Edinburgh to prepare biscuits, the butchers to collect cattle, and arranged that horses and carts should be pressed for transport. All the available troops in Scotland were ordered to assemble at Stirling.

It is interesting to note how the troops in Scotland were then distributed. Gardiner's Dragoons, now the 13th Hussars, were quartered at Stirling, Linlithgow, Musselburgh, Kelso, and Coldstream : Hamilton's Dragoons (14th Hussars), at Haddington, Duns, and adjacent places : the horses of both regiments were out at grass—the economical custom in time of peace. Of the infantry, Lascelles' (now the 47th or North Lancashire Regiment) were in Edinburgh and Leith. There was a regiment at Aberdeen, half a regiment divided

between Glasgow, Stirling, Dumfries, and Stranraer, a regiment scattered through the Highlands at work on General Wade's roads, and several 'additional companies' or recruits at Perth, Glasgow, Crieff, and Cupar-Fife.

Eleven days after receiving the news, Cope joined his army at Stirling. Before going north, he left Gardiner's Dragoons to defend the Forth at Stirling, and sent Hamilton's Dragoons back to defend Edinburgh. He called in all veteran out-pensioners to help to garrison Edinburgh and Stirling Castles, he reinforced Edinburgh Castle with two companies of foot, and off he marched to the Highlands to crush Prince Charles. From this point onwards his incapacity for high command showed itself flagrantly. His orders were to take arms and enlist the friendly Highlanders on his way. The Whig Duke of Atholl sent him a contingent of Macgregors at Amulree, but Cope would allow them no pay, so they left him. Cluny, the great chief of the Macphersons, who had accepted a captain's commission, joined him, but was treated with ignominy and insult. In spite of this, Cluny, I believe, meant to be loyal, and quitted Cope to raise his clan for King George. But his cousin Lochiel captured him that night at Cluny Castle, and carried him off prisoner to Perth. Prince Charles worked on his injured Highland pride, and did not let Cluny go until he had promised to join the enterprise. Thus both the Macgregors and the Macphersons were lost to the Government. When Cope reached Dalwhinnie, intending to cross the pass of Corryarrack to Fort Augustus, he found the Highlanders were before him, and had occupied the pass. He dared not attack them, and marched on to Inverness, where Duncan Forbes had gone a fortnight before.

Prince Charles, after landing at Arisaig, had with great difficulty persuaded some Western Highlanders to join him. On August 19, the day on which Cope left Edinburgh, he raised his standard in Glenfinnan. Thence he marched, avoiding Fort William, to Invergarry, being joined on the

way by a few more of the Western clansmen. By the 28th he reached Corryarrack, where he learned that Cope, fearing to encounter him, had evaded him and gone north. Thence the Prince marched by Blair Atholl and Dunkeld to Perth, where he remained a week, and where his force of about 1900 men was increased by about 350 more. Several persons of consequence joined him here, including Lord George Murray, the best of them all. The Jacobite army left Perth on September 11, crossed the Forth at Balquhan, a few miles above Stirling, where the Prince himself led the troops and was the first to ford the river. Gardiner's Dragoons should have opposed him, but fled. Thence by Leckie the Jacobites marched to Falkirk and Linlithgow, the dragoons retiring as they advanced. The Prince reached Corstorphine on September 16, whence he sent a summons to the Lord Provost of Edinburgh to surrender the town, and then marched by Saughton to Slateford; the army encamped on the banks of the Water of Leith, in the neighbourhood of Slateford, and the Prince himself lodged in the farmhouse of Gray's Mill, near Inglis Green.

When Cope marched away, little alarm was felt in Edinburgh, and nothing was done beyond enlisting thirty additional recruits for the City Guard, bringing it up to 126 men; but when it was learned that the Jacobites had foiled Cope and were marching on Edinburgh, the citizens began to rouse themselves. The Provost, though badgered and worried by every one, was the only man who seems to have kept his head.¹

¹ I make this statement deliberately, although I know that it runs counter to the expressed opinion of many writers. Those of Jacobite sympathies claim Provost Stewart as a militant partisan, those of Whig tendencies denounce him as a traitor. Chambers writes that the impression on his mind is that Provost Stewart acted exactly as might have been expected of a Jacobite who wished to keep a fair face towards the Government. To me, on the other hand, after reading all the documentary evidence on the subject, it seems that Stewart did everything that was possible in a position of extraordinary difficulty. His known Jacobite sentiments, which he shared with a large number of the citizens, rather forced him, as falling under certain suspicion, to do more than he might otherwise have done. At the end of the Rising, Stewart went

No one, civil or military, would take any responsibility without the Provost's signature. They were constantly sending for the Provost to lecture him on his duty, yet when he tried to carry out instructions as far as lay in his power, and things went wrong, all the blame was imputed to him.

Theoretically, the Lord Provost was military chief of the mediæval train bands, who numbered 1600 men. How different now from the days of Flodden, when the Edinburgh burgesses sent out a gallant regiment to fight for King James IV., when 'ilk Burges hauand fyftie pundis in gudis salbe haill anarmit, as a gentilman aucht to be: and Burgessis of xx pund in gudis salbe bodin with hat, doublet or habirgeoun, sword and bucklar, bow, scheif and knyfe.'

to London to perform his duties as M.P. for Edinburgh. There he was committed to the Tower and kept prisoner for fourteen months, and afterwards tried at Edinburgh for 'permitting the city to fall under the power of the rebels.' He was unanimously acquitted by the jury. The evidence against him seems very weak. One point constantly made against him by his enemies was his sneering manner when anything was proposed. It is easy to imagine that his sneer was directed to the futility of the advice and the consciousness of the insincerity of many of his critics. John Home, author of *Douglas*, a Whig, who fought as a volunteer on the Government side during the campaign, insinuates in his *History of the Rebellion* (p. 97) that much of the courage of the Provost's critics was fictitious, particularly mentioning ex-Provost Drummond. In this perhaps he is unjust to Drummond, who actually was present at Prestonpans with Hamilton's Dragoons, and fled from the field with the leaders (*Report of the Proceedings, etc. . . . on Lieut.-Gen. Sir John Cope*, pp. 147, 148).

The best and fairest account of Provost Stewart's conduct is to be found in a pamphlet which, according to Sir Walter Scott (*Quarterly Review*, June 1827), was written by David Hume, whom none would suspect of Jacobite sympathies. The pamphlet is entitled *A True Account of the Behaviour and Conduct of Archibald Stewart, Esq., late Lord Provost of Edinburgh* (London, 1748). It reviews with scorn the attacks on the Provost. Hume accuses the Lord Advocate (Grant of Prestongrange) of almost exactly the same intention as R. L. Stevenson attributes to him in the romance of *Catriona*. In the novel he is made to say that a Campbell had been murdered and there must be a scapegoat. In the case of the Provost he expressed the same feeling: it would be a scandal for the country if no one was punished for the loss of Edinburgh; he would be satisfied to compound for a slight punishment or a small fine, but he was intent on a conviction, which, however, the jury refused him. Hume maintains that Stewart 'acted the part of a vigilant, active, and even brave magistrate, so far as he was tried'; and after pointing out how he had cleared himself on every point of attack, he proclaims him to be 'a good magistrate, a good friend, a good companion, a fair dealer; a man in every action of his life full of humanity, justice, and moderation' (*A True Account*, pp. 13, 41). On an examination of the evidence it is seen that Stewart was deserted by

The train bands were not called out, but a proposal was made to raise a regiment for the defence of the town. The Provost stated that it was treason to raise troops without the King's warrant. In this the Lord Advocate and the Solicitor-General agreed, and the King's sanction was sent for. It arrived exactly eight days before Prince Charles entered Edinburgh. Two hundred and fifty men were actually enlisted, but they did nothing, and are lost sight of in subsequent events.

It was agreed to put the walls into repair, and Professor Maclaurin, who was delighted with this piece of practical physics, was given charge of the work. Cannon were got from the ships at Leith, but the walls were not meant for cannon, and embrasures and platforms had to be made. It was the time for municipal elections; the trades were all busy electing their deacons and officials, and would not

the officers of state, who should have directed him; by the officers of law, who should have advised him; and by the military chiefs and the troops, who should have defended him. After the great men had fled, and when the volunteers were deserting and giving up their arms in great numbers, the Provost applied to a customs official who had been in the army for his military opinion as to what should be done. The officer replied that he pitied him, but knew not what advice to give; when pressed further, he advised that the arms should be sent to the castle.

When the summons from Prince Charles came, Stewart was at a loss as to whether it should be read or not, and consulted Patrick Haldane, one of the city's assessors. Haldane (who afterwards was one of the Advocates-depute who prosecuted Stewart, the eighth article of the indictment being that he had read the letter) replied that it was a matter too high for him to give an opinion upon. No wonder the troubled Provost exclaimed, 'Good God, I am deserted by my arms and my assessors' (*Provost Stewart's Trial*, part i. p. 118, Home's *Hist. of the Rebellion*, p. 92). Stewart is generally accused of having 'surrendered' the city. This is not true; the gate was rushed, the guard overpowered, and the city taken by a bloodless assault at the very time the Lord Provost was negotiating for time to allow Cope to come to the rescue. So far from being accepted by the Jacobites as a partisan, the Provost was made prisoner when the city was captured. For how long he was in confinement I have been unable to ascertain, but he was still in prison six days after the Prince's entry (*Caledonian Mercury*, September 23, 1745). After his acquittal, Stewart went to London and succeeded in business there. He settled at Mitcham in Surrey, where his family was visited in 1756 by the celebrated Mrs. Calderwood of Polton, who says that the house was beautiful, but that he entertained his guests with an air of frugality rather than of expense (*Coltness Collections*, p. 124). Provost Stewart left no sons; his daughter married John Marjoribanks of the Lees, ancestor of Lord Tweedmouth.

take interest in the work or supply sufficient labour to repair the broken walls.

Then there were no gunners, and it was proposed to get gunners from the ships of war, but the Provost would not stand that, and fairly lost his temper. When asked his reason, 'My reason, sir, is plain; it would be "Damn your blood, Jack, fire away and be damned"; and so they would fire upon and murder the inhabitants as well as defend the town against the rebels.'¹

A Volunteer regiment was raised under George Drummond, and a few more Volunteers came in from neighbouring parts.

Hamilton's Dragoons were encamped at St. Ann's Yards, now the Holyrood Gardens, and it was proposed in a meeting to admit the dragoons to the town, but the proposal was at once vetoed.²

On Sunday the 15th the Jacobites were at Linlithgow, and it was proposed that the Volunteers and the other civic forces should move outside the walls and join Hamilton's Dragoons, reinforced by Gardiner's Regiment, which had retreated back to Edinburgh from Stirling, and go out to meet the Highlanders. The Volunteers got as far as the Grassmarket, when the ministers came from their churches in a body, and implored the gallant Volunteers not to risk their precious lives. They turned back to the College Yards. Next day Prince Charles was at Corstorphine, and the citizens of Edinburgh had

¹ Evidence of Bailie James Stewart, *Provost Stewart's Trial*, part ii. p. 46.

² The objection to the admission of the dragoons was twofold. It was feared they might be entangled in the narrow streets of the town and cut off, in which case the magistrates would be blamed for entrapping them. But in addition to this military reason the inhabitants were strongly against admitting them to the city, as they feared their licence. This can hardly be wondered at; the ordinary soldier at that time was treated as a brute, and too often behaved as one. In a lawsuit of 1744 between two officers about a recruiting case, it is stated that the recruits were 'as usual' lodged in jail while awaiting the arrival of a transport. Three weeks after Prince Charles left Edinburgh, four soldiers were flogged there for insulting the inhabitants. In the newspapers two occasions are mentioned at this time when soldiers got a thousand lashes; one for drinking Prince Charles's health, and the other for desertion. Sentences of two thousand lashes were not unknown, but I have been unable to ascertain if they were ever actually inflicted, or if the victim survived. On the other hand, military licence and barbarity in the north after Culloden are public history.

the mortification to see the dragoons flying along the Lang Dykes (now Princes Street) towards Leith. They hardly stopped until they got to Haddington. The Volunteers then returned their arms to the Castle and were disbanded.

That day the Prince sent from Corstorphine a summons to the Magistrates to surrender the town, threatening with death any citizens found in arms. The inhabitants mobbed the Provost, and implored him to save their lives and surrender. The Provost refused, but agreed to send a deputation to the Prince, then at Slateford, asking for terms. The Prince sent the deputation back, renewing his threat, and demanding an answer by two in the morning. A second deputation was sent late at night, headed by ex-Provost Coutts (great-grandfather of the late Baroness Burdett Coutts), to gain further time, as news had been received of Cope's arrival at Dunbar. This second deputation was unsuccessful, and returned to Edinburgh in a hackney-coach. Meantime, half the Prince's army under Lochiel was sent quietly, by Merchiston and Hope Park, to the Netherbow Port. An accident gave them admittance. The coach which had carried back the deputation was returning to the stables in the Canongate: the gate was opened to let it pass, and at five in the morning, in broad daylight, Lochiel rushed in, overpowered the Guard, and Edinburgh was in the hands of Prince Charles. The previous day the Judges and the great officials had fled from the town.

The change of rulers was made with the least possible fuss. It merely seemed as if one Guard had relieved another. So quiet was everything that the *Caledonian Mercury* came out next day as usual, with this change: on the Monday it had talked of *rebels*, and on Wednesday it began thus:—

Edinburgh, Sept. 17.—Affairs in this city and neighbourhood have taken the most surprising turn since yesterday without the least bloodshed or opposition, so that we have now in our streets Highlanders and Bagpipes, in place of Dragoons and Drums, of which we will be allowed to give the following narrative of facts, as far as we

have been able to collect them. On Monday last the Highland army stood under arms about Corstorphine. . . .

The same day Prince Charles and the rest of his army marched by the foot of the Braid Hills and Prestonfield to the King's Park, the Prince stopping on the way at Grange House to drink a glass of wine. The army encamped in the Park, and the Prince rode forward by St. Anthony's Well and the Duke's Walk to Holyrood, where he was met by an immense crowd, twenty thousand people it is said ; and amid the wildest enthusiasm, the true heir of the ancient royal house entered the palace of his ancestors.

A Whig contemporary thus describes his appearance :— The figure and presence of Charles Stuart were not ill suited to his lofty pretensions. He was in the prime of youth, tall and handsome, of a fair complexion ; he had a light-coloured periwig, with his own hair combed over the front. He wore the Highland dress, that is, a tartan short coat without the plaid, crimson velvet breeches, and military boots ; a blue bonnet was on his head, and on his breast the Star of the Order of St. Andrew.

The Jacobites were charmed with his appearance : they compared him to Robert the Bruce, whom he resembled, they said, in his figure as in his fortune. The Whigs looked upon him with other eyes. They acknowledged that he was a goodly person ; but they observed, that even in that triumphant hour, when he was about to enter the palace of his fathers, the air of his countenance was languid and melancholy : that he looked like a gentleman and a man of fashion, but not like a hero or a conqueror.

At noon the heralds, clad in their robes of state, and with all due solemnity, proclaimed King James VIII. and Charles Prince Regent at the old Market Cross.

We may now return to Sir John Cope, who had reached Inverness on the 29th of August, where he met and conferred with Duncan Forbes of Culloden. A result of this conference

was the resolve to return to Edinburgh by sea. Messengers were sent south to collect shipping which was to rendezvous at Aberdeen. Six days later (the day that Prince Charles entered Perth) Cope started for Aberdeen, which he reached on September 11, the day the Jacobite army marched from Perth. At Aberdeen he was reinforced by two companies of Guise's (now 6th Royal Warwickshire) Regiment. Here he waited four precious days, having lost at least one whole day by his contemptuous disregard of the local advice of the magistrates, who understood the tides, which Cope did not. He sailed on the 15th for the Forth, and being unable owing to western winds to sail up to Leith, he landed at Dunbar on the 17th, the very day Prince Charles entered Edinburgh; at Dunbar he was joined by the dragoons whom he had left for the defence of the capital. Next day he marched to Haddington, and the following day, the 20th, to Prestonpans, where he encamped on the ground to the south of Cockenzie.

On the evening of the 19th the Prince obtained authentic intelligence that Cope was marching to attack him; at night he left Holyrood and joined his army at Duddingston, leaving orders for all the guards to retire from their posts and to join him in the early morning. He slept that night at Duddingston, and the cottage which he traditionally occupied can still be seen on the north side of the road nearly opposite the western entrance of Duddingston House. Before leaving Edinburgh the Prince arranged to bring out coaches and chaises for the wounded, and a staff of medical men, little caring whether they were Jacobite or Hanoverian. To the honour of the profession many attended, including the celebrated Dr. Munro, Professor of Anatomy, a staunch Whig; Mr. Lauder, the Convener of Trades, and President of the Surgeons; John Rattray; Young Hay, afterwards a Catholic bishop, though then a Protestant assistant-surgeon.

On the 20th, at nine in the morning, the Prince put himself at the head of his little army; he drew his sword, and with a 'very determined countenance,' he somewhat melodramatic-

ally turned to his friends and said, 'Gentlemen, I have flung away the scabbard, and with God's assistance I don't doubt of making you a free and happy people; Mr. Cope shall not escape us as he did in the Highlands.' He then started to meet Cope.

The army marched by Musselburgh, and there turning to the south-east, passed by the right of Wallyford, took the high ground by Easter Fallside and reached Tranent, whence they had a perfect view of Cope's army, drawing out in battle array below them, between Prestonpans and Seton.

It is no part of my plan to detail the battle of Prestonpans, which has been described by every historian of the period.

Prince Charles and his army bivouacked for the night in a stubble field to the east of Tranent, the Prince sleeping in his plaid, with the shelter of a pea-sheaf. In the middle of the night, young Anderson of Whitburgh, a gentleman of the neighbourhood, informed Lord George Murray that he knew of an unguarded path across the morass which protected the right flank of Cope's army, and at three in the morning the Jacobite army descended the hill in a north-easterly direction and formed in battle array on the west of Seton Castle. The morass is now roughly represented by the line of the railway for a mile east from Prestonpans. On reaching their new position the Highlanders charged almost immediately; Cope's dragoons fled, the infantry gave way, and in five minutes all was over. Cope's infantry was simply annihilated. Of about 2000 men, only 170 escaped slaughter or capture; but Cope, after vainly endeavouring to rally the cavalry, fled headlong with them and most of his staff by Lauder to Berwick, where Lord Mark Kerr received the luckless Commander-in-Chief with the dry remark 'that he believed he was the first general who had brought the first tidings of his own defeat.'

Here we may leave history and return to incident. Until now no one seems to have taken the war quite seriously, and

some seemed to look on it as almost a spectacle. Among others, two young men, the day before the battle, had ridden out apparently to see the fun, but they could not resist oysters and a remembered scantling of Madeira at Luckie Chrystal's public-house in the west end of Musselburgh. They were Francis Garden, a young advocate, afterwards Lord Gardenston, and Robert Cunningham, who subsequently entered the army, and rose to be a general. They were espied by John Roy Stewart, one of the Jacobite colonels, whom they took to be a King's officer, and seemingly in pure frolic they told that they were rebels going to join the Prince. A young apprentice W.S., one of the Prince's Life-guards, however, knew them and explained who they were, upon which John Roy proposed hanging them as spies, but the W.S. begged them off, and one at least fled incontinent to Jedburgh, glad to be out of that galley. The Life-guardsman who thus rescued his young friends was Colquhoun Grant, who became a prominent Writer to the Signet, to whose liberality there was but one door.

Many years later, Mr. Ross of Pitcalnie, who had been out in the '45, had become a bankrupt, broken-down laird. Mr. Grant had meantime become a wealthy and very penurious Writer to the Signet. Mr. Ross desired a loan; his friends freely betted he could get nothing from Grant. Pitcalnie called on Grant, and after some commonplaces he hinted the necessity under which he lay for a trifle of money, and made bold to ask if Mr. Grant could help him in a professional way. 'What a pity, Pitcalnie,' replied the Writer, 'you did not apply yesterday! I sent all the loose money I had to the bank just this forenoon; it is for the present quite beyond redemption.' 'Oh, no matter,' said Pitcalnie, and continued the conversation as if no such request had been preferred. By and by, after some more topics of an ordinary sort had been discussed, he at length introduced the old subject of the Forty-five, upon which both were alike well prepared to speak. A thousand delightful recollections then

rushed upon the minds of the two friends, and, in the rising tide of ancient feeling, all distinction of borrower and lender was soon lost. Pitcalnie watched the time when Grant was fully mellowed by the conversation, to bring in a few compliments to his (Grant's) own particular achievements. He expatiated upon the bravery which his friend had shown at Preston, where he was the first man to go up to the cannon, on which account he made out that the whole victory, so influential to the Prince's affairs, was owing to no other than Colquhoun Grant, now Writer to the Signet, Gavinloch's Land, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh. He also adverted to the boldness Mr. Grant had displayed in chasing a band of recreant dragoons from the field of battle up to the very gates of Edinburgh Castle ; and further, upon the dexterity which he subsequently displayed in making his escape from the town. ' Bide a wee,' said Mr. Grant, at this stage of the conversation, ' till I gang ben the house.' He immediately returned with the sum Pitcalnie wanted, which he said he now recollected having left over for some time in the shuttle of his private desk. Pitcalnie took the money, continued the conversation for some time longer, and then took an opportunity of departing. When he came back to his friends, Pitcalnie explained the plan he had taken with the W.S., adding with an expressive wink, ' This forty's made out of the battle of Preston ; but stay a wee, lads, I've Falkirk i' my pouch yet—by my faith I wadna gie it for aughty.'¹

We have here a strong Scottish characteristic which only Sir Walter could grasp, and which he has presented in the perfectly drawn character of Bailie Nicol Jarvie—the shrewd, parsimonious, pawky man of business, with a hidden spring of romance running through his whole nature, which had only to be touched aright to bubble out into sentimental action.

Alexander Carlyle, one of the Edinburgh Volunteers, and afterwards minister of Inveresk, left Edinburgh, and reaching his father's manse at Prestonpans the night before the battle,

¹ This anecdote is taken nearly verbatim from *The Edinburgh Literary Journal*, 1829.

found it crowded with visitors who had come to see the fight. There is something comical in his ingenuous description of how he went to bed and ordered the maid-servant to waken him in the morning as soon as the battle began. The maid was punctual, but the battle was over before Carlyle could dress, and he was only in time to see the ghastly field heaped with dead and wounded but a few hundred yards from his father's door. In his graphic narrative of how he went to the assistance of the wounded, nothing is so impressive as his description of the unexpected urbanity of the imagined Highland barbarians. He found the Duke of Perth, who was courtesy itself, arranging for the disposal of the wounded Government officers. Lochiel was 'polished and gentle,' and assisted Carlyle in his search for medicine chests. Another officer, a Captain Stewart, was 'good-looking, grave, and of polished manners.' Though the men 'were of low stature, dirty, and of contemptible appearance' . . . 'the officers were gentleman-like and very civil to him.' Among all the Highland army there was but one man who was rude to him, and this was the Lowland Lord Elcho, 'who had an air of savage ferocity which alarmed and disgusted me. . . . He inquired fiercely of me where a public-house was to be found. I answered him very meekly, not doubting that if I had displeased him with my tone, his reply would have been with a pistol bullet.' A guard was put on Prestonpans Manse, and in command 'a well-looking, sweet-tempered young man,' who attended family worship and awkwardly knocked a plate off the table with his broadsword as he turned to kneel at prayer. Contrast this gentleness and kindness of the Highland barbarian with the conduct of the officers and gentlemen of King George's army on the very same day. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, Baron of the Exchequer, having seen fit to desert his home and to make for England, had taken a lodging in a roadside inn at Channelkirk, near Lauder. He relates, 'Many officers came to lodge under us in the same house. We thought Hell had broken loose, for I never heard

such oaths and imprecations, branding one another with cowardice and neglect of duty.'

After the battle Prince Charles's conduct was magnanimous. His first care was to stop the slaughter, his next to attend to the wounded and arrange for the burial of the dead, of whom there were over 500 red-coats and about 30 Jacobites. The worst cases were cared for at Bankton and the Prestonpans Schoolhouse, while the Edinburgh surgeons, whom his thoughtfulness had summoned, removed the bulk of the wounded, numbering about 600 soldiers and 70 Highlanders, to the Royal Infirmary and the Charity Workhouse in Edinburgh. Friend and foe were treated with equal humanity.

The Jacobites named the battle 'Gladsmuir,' and a quaint petition, probably meant to be humorous, from the inhabitants of Prestonpans complains of the injury done them in robbing them of the honour of the field. As it is characteristic, I shall quote part of it:—

The PETITION of Prestonpans, Preston, Cockenzie, Seton, and Tranent
Humbly Sheweth,—

That whereas from all antiquity, it has been, and still is, the universal custom to denominate battles from the fields on which they were fought, or from some town or village nearest to such fields;

And whereas some dignity is thereby added to such fields, towns, or villages, their names made remarkable on the maps, and recorded in history, witness the small village of *Dettingen*, which was never of such consideration as to find a place in the maps of *Germany*, until it was celebrated by the engagement which happened near it a few years ago;

And whereas, on the 21st of September last, there was a battle fought on a field which is in a manner surrounded by us, the petitioning towns and villages, from one or other of which the said battle ought undoubtedly to derive its title;

Nevertheless, the publishers of a certain newspaper, entitled, *The Caledonian Mercury*, have most unjustly denominated the said battle from a muir on which it was not fought, nor near to it; in which they are followed by several people, who either through malice against

your petitioners, or through stupidity, have affected to call it, *The Battle of Gladsmuir*. By which practice your petitioners are, conjunctly and severally, deprived of that honour and fame which of right pertains to them, and which, in all histories, future maps and almanacks, ought to be transmitted as theirs to the latest posterity.

The prisoners—over 1000—were at first lodged in the Canongate Church and the Canongate Tolbooth, and later on, the men of the Lowland regiments were removed to Perthshire. Of the captured Highlanders a large proportion enlisted with the Prince, and some seventy or eighty who refused, were furnished with money and dismissed to their homes after swearing not to carry arms against the House of Stuart.

The seventy-seven captured officers were most considerately treated. Lord George Murray personally escorted such as were able to walk to Musselburgh; he gave them his private stock of provisions and liquor, and he spent the night in the same room with them so as to shield them by his presence from any possible insult or injury. At Edinburgh a lodging was provided for them in the Duke of Queensberry's house in the Canongate—now the House of Refuge. They were allowed to go about privately on their parole not to leave the town. I find from private letters that they both received visitors and visited their friends, among others, the lively young daughters of the Whig Duke of Atholl, who were staying with their father's lawyer in the West Bow. Eight days later these officers were sent off on their parole to Perth under charge of a guard of 150 men to protect them from insult, and with a commissary to look after their comforts. The commissary was Thomas Dundas, son of an Edinburgh bailie—the ancestor of the present family of Carronhall. Lord George Murray's letters to his wife at Tullibardine (near Auchterarder), and to his brother, then in Jacobite command in Perthshire, are full of anxious solicitude for the care of these unfortunate gentlemen. He asks his wife to entertain them at Tullibardine, even specifying what viands she should provide, and telling her to show them all

the friendship in her power. Among these prisoners was young Farquharson of Invercauld, who in later days married Lord George's daughter. Most of King George's officers broke their parole to Prince Charles.

The day after the battle was Sunday, and the Jacobite army marched in triumph through Edinburgh, headed by a great array of pipers playing the Prince's favourite air, 'The King shall enjoy his own again.' The clans were followed by the prisoners, who were half as numerous as the whole Highland army; the rear was brought up by the carts conveying the wounded. The Prince took no part in this triumph; on the contrary, he issued a proclamation forbidding any demonstration of public joy, as the victory had been obtained over his father's misguided subjects. It is stated by one of those who fought against him that he remained for hours on the battlefield giving orders for the relief of the wounded of both armies, and preserving every appearance of moderation and humanity; that night he lay at Pinkie House, and next day returned quietly to Edinburgh.

By this victory Prince Charles became practically Sovereign of Scotland: only the castles of Edinburgh and Stirling, and three Highland forts—two of which he afterwards captured—held out against him, and he reigned in Holyrood for seven weeks.

There was nothing which surprised the good folks of Edinburgh so much as the wonderful behaviour of the dreaded Highlanders, whose appearance was so wild and tatterdemalion. I have already mentioned Carlyle's experiences on the morning of Prestonpans, and Edinburgh experienced the same thing. The chiefs were most courteous gentlemen, well educated, many of them fond of letters, and I like to think of them wandering through the High Street, dropping into the book-shops and into Allan Ramsay's library in the Lawnmarket to see the latest books and magazines.

Among them was Alexander Robertson, the aged chief of Struan, himself no mean poet in Gaelic and in English.

William Hamilton of Bangour, a well-known poet, was another of the Jacobite officers.¹ A Linlithgowshire laird and a man of fashion, he had been brought up a Whig, for his mother had married President Dalrymple, the great Whig judge. His conversion to Jacobitism took place while travelling in Italy. Sauntering one day about the Capitol in Rome, a hand was laid on his shoulder by a young man, who said with a pleasant smile, 'Mr. Hamilton, whether do you like this prospect, or the one from North Berwick Law best?' Hamilton recognised Prince Charles, and from that time became his devoted follower.²

But it was not only the higher officers who had literary tastes. One day Mr. J. M. Barrie asked me, 'What would you make a Highland officer do when hiding in a cave wounded after Culloden?' 'Why,' I said, 'he would be writing Latin poems,' and I took down Bishop Forbes's collection and showed him the exact situation. Two Horatian odes, one a Lament on Culloden, and the other on his own wounded foot, written while hiding in a cave in Skye. Now, Donald Roy Macdonald, who wrote these poems, was but the younger brother of a subordinate chieftain in Baleshare, a small island in the westernmost Hebrides, who had never gone further for his schooling than the island of Skye.

Bishop Forbes gives six or eight of his Latin poems. I showed them to the tutor of a great college in Oxford;—'Quite respectable Latin,' he said.

When an army of Hessians came over to help King George in the spring of 1746, and was quartered in Perthshire, the

¹ Hamilton of Bangour wrote an 'Ode on the battle of Gladsmuir,' which begins thus :—

As over Gladsmuir's bloodstain'd field,
Scotia, imperial goddess, flew,
Her lifted spear and radiant shield
Conspicuous blazing to the view ;
Her visage, lately clouded with despair,
Now reassum'd its first majestic air.

Burns said of it, 'I dinna like it ava, man, it's far ower sublime.' Bangour is chiefly remembered to-day for his pastoral lyrics, the best known being 'The Braes of Yarrow.'

² *Ochertyre MSS.*, i. 28.

only language in which they could communicate with the Highlanders was Latin, which *all* the innkeepers of the Atholl district were able to converse in.¹ It was in Latin, too, that Lord George Murray communicated with his Hessian adversaries. How many Highland innkeepers in these days of 'improved' education, or even generals, could do that to-day?

The discipline of the Highland clansmen was wonderful. Here are two instances: When marching to Edinburgh the Jacobite army had to pass the mansion near Kirkliston which had been the residence of that Earl of Stair who had ordered the massacre of Glencoe. The mansion was now the property of his son, the Commander-in-Chief of King George's army, who was even then collecting troops to fight Prince Charles. Fears were expressed in the Prince's army that the Macdonalds might take the opportunity for revenge. Not only did they indignantly repel the suggestion, but they insisted on furnishing a party from among themselves to guard Lord Stair's house until the army had passed.

When Lochiel, on the morning of the capture, burst into Edinburgh and had quartered his Camerons in the Lawnmarket, though the inhabitants plied them with hospitality, offering them meat and drink in abundance, not a man of them would taste spirits, because their chief had forbidden them to do so before they marched.

'To give the rebells their due,' writes one who hated them, 'never did theiving naked ruffians with uncouth wappons make so harmless a march in a civilised plentiful country, and the disciplin was so severe that they hanged up one or two at Lithgow for pilfering.'²

It is not, I think, generally known that a great majority of the Jacobite army were Presbyterians, though this statement is truer of the army later than on its arrival in Edinburgh. Of the clans that captured Edinburgh, the Macdonalds of Glengarry, Clanranald, and most of Keppoch's

¹ Stewart of Garth's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, vol. ii. app. p. xxxiii.

² *Woodhouselee MS.*, p. 17.

were Roman Catholics, as they are to this day ; the Camerons, Stewarts of Appin, and Macdonalds of Glencoe were Episcopalians, as many are still ; but the rest of the army conformed to the Presbyterian religion of the country. A contemporary writer, who lived on the Highland border and had no particular cause to love the Highlanders, says : ‘ The common class of men have always been more courteous and intelligent, more gallant in their manners, and more scrupulous about personal honour than persons of that humble situation in other countries. . . . They have at the same time all along been a serious, devout people, who wished for nothing more than good instructors ; [there were] none more affectionate and devoted to their ministers . . . [but] with all their veneration for their spiritual guides in matters of religion, the Highlanders did not think it necessary to embrace their political creed. In that they were implicitly directed by their chieftains.’¹ Even enthusiastic Methodists were to be found in the Jacobite ranks.

In a rare pamphlet written by an English volunteer who served with the Duke of Cumberland, there is a touching description of the execution after Culloden of a Sergeant Dunbar ; one of those men of Loudon’s Highlanders who deserted to Prince Charles at Edinburgh. Dunbar, he says, was early one of Whitefield’s disciples, and when he walked to the gallows, being a mile from Inverness, he was attended by nearly a dozen Methodists of his own former regiment, all Highlanders, mark you . . . ‘ with books in their hands all the way, singing hymns. He refused to have a Kirk minister with him, but seemingly behaved with decency and courage ; and though he talked much of Jesus Christ, yet he died without acknowledging his treason and the justice of his punishment.’ On the field of Culloden one Highland soldier was found dead with his Gaelic psalm-book open in his hand and a bloody mark at the words : ‘ But Thou hast cast us off and put us to shame, and goest not forth with our armies ;

¹ *Ochtertyre MSS.*, ii. 376.

Thou makest us to turn back from our enemies, and they which hate us spoil for themselves.'

The Prince was careful to assure the clergy everywhere of freedom to worship as they chose. He even assured a deputation of the Edinburgh ministers who, with unparalleled innocence or impudence, asked if they might pray for King George, that no notice would be taken of anything they said; yet many Edinburgh ministers deserted their pulpits during the occupation, and were severely blamed therefor by their own side. At the West Kirk, however, old Mr. Neil Macvicar carried on the service as usual, and there he offered his celebrated prayer, 'Bless the King; Thou knowest what King I mean. May the crown sit long easy on his head. And as for this man that is come among us to seek an earthly crown, we beseech Thee in Thy mercy to take him to Thyself, and to give him a Crown of Glory.' The Prince merely laughed, and said he was an honest fool, and would have no notice taken of him.

There are constant references to church attendance during the march to England. At Derby, says Lord George Murray, they all took the Sacrament. At Kendal, both Protestants and Catholics attended church. An excuse for the Prince's non-attendance is quaint: 'He could not go, there being no churchman of higher rank than the curate then in the place.' Englishmen, too, were amazed at seeing the northern barbarians asking a blessing reverently before beginning their meals, 'as if they had been so many pure primitive Christians!' ¹

Throughout the occupation of Edinburgh there was little excess or oppression by the Highland soldiers; it is on record that there were no riots in the streets, and not so much as a drunk man to be seen.

There were, however, minor troubles for which the occupation was responsible. Since the opening of the Charity Workhouse two years before, no begging had been allowed

¹ Marchant's *History of the Rebellion* (1746), p. 213.

in the streets, but with the Jacobite advent, the City Guard—the police of the town—had been superseded by the Highland army, who knew of no such restriction, and beggars began to swarm in the town. But the practical managers of the workhouse advertised that the house was still maintained and the poor employed in all respects as formerly, although the institution was suffering for want of the usual Sunday collections, and asked the citizens not to give to the street beggars, rather to send what they could spare for the support of the house. The public generously responded to the appeal, and the begging nuisance ceased.

As was natural, some evil-disposed persons who did not belong to the army assumed the white cockade and masqueraded in tartan clothes, plundering where they could, and bringing obloquy on the Highland army. Among these was the notorious Jem Ratcliff, whom Sir Walter has immortalised in the *Heart of Midlothian*; and there are others mentioned. A stringent order against these abuses was issued by Lord George Murray. Some malefactors were tried by court-martial and shot on Leith Links, and others were imprisoned.

For a few days after the battle the army was billeted in the town, chiefly in public-houses, so as to give as little trouble as possible to the inhabitants, and some of the guards lay on straw in the Tron Church and the Parliament House, from which all the judges had fled; but a few days later a standing camp was formed at Duddingston, where the troops could be sent out of the way, and what the officers looked to, free from the temptations of the town, which might have debauched their simple manners. Cope's tents and field equipage furnished the material, but it is on record that some of the Highlanders objected to tents as being too luxurious.

The curse of the Jacobite army was desertion. It nearly drove Lord George Murray distracted, and the worst offenders were his own Atholl men. At a review a few days after Prestonpans the army had dwindled to 1400 men, showing more than 1000 desertions. So far from trying to exalt his

victory by telling how few men he had, the greatest pains were taken by the Prince to conceal his weakness. James Maxwell of Kirkconnel, an officer in the Prince's Life-guards, who has left a narrative of the whole expedition, tells how, though the Prince reviewed his troops nearly daily, he never made a general review. There were always troops at Leith or Musselburgh or some adjacent village, and a small garrison in the city; and lest people should reckon them in their different cantonments, they were continually shifting their quarters, for no other reason than to mislead the curious. The manœuvre succeeded admirably. Their strength was vastly exaggerated. The English court was so deceived that the utmost caution was exercised before marching troops to Scotland, and Charles had ample time to assemble his resources. One man, however, was never deceived; that was Duncan Forbes, then working with all his might at Inverness, against fearful odds, to save an ungrateful Government, and to restrain his friends and neighbours, the Chiefs of the North, from rushing on what he believed to be certain destruction.

It may interest Edinburgh people to note where the principal guards were placed.

At Leith and Newhaven, to patrol the shore and prevent parties from landing from the men-of-war which patrolled the Firth of Forth.

At Inch, to guard the south road.

At Jock's Lodge, to observe the road from Berwick.

At the Weigh-house at the head of the Lawnmarket, to watch the Castle, and for a while at the West Kirk and at Livingston's Yards, now King's Stables Road.

The terror of the Government soldiers for the Highlanders was so great that all the Jacobite infantry were dressed in Highland garb, whether Highland or Lowland; the Commander-in-Chief, Lord George Murray, frequently wore the kilt. In the summons to the men of Aberdeenshire, perhaps the most typical Lowland county in Scotland, orders were given to join equipped in Highland costume.

It must not be supposed, however, that the Highland garb thus imposed was as we now think of it as uniformed by the army tailor or the clan censor—with kilt and sporran. The Highland uniform was defined as a ‘white cockade, a plaid waistcoat, and Highland sash,’ what to-day, I imagine, we should call a tartan waistcoat and a plaid.¹

We are told that Lord Pitsligo’s cavalry marched into Edinburgh ‘all in Highland dress,’ and that the French ambassador went out riding with the Life-guards in the same costume, which could hardly be like that of a modern Highland regiment.

During the short blockade of the Castle, the guard at Livingston’s Yards was held by an Edinburgh shoemaker named Robert Taylor, who had a captain’s commission. Somehow the garrison learned that the men of this detachment were not real Highlanders, but only Edinburgh men in Highland dress. To them they felt equal; made a sudden sortie, killed several men, and carried off poor Taylor a prisoner to the Castle. It was at that time their solitary triumph.

Requisitions were made on the towns. Glasgow had to pay £5500, and to us it familiarises the incident to know that it was an Edinburgh W.S. who was sent to collect it—John Hay of Restalrig, who had been Deputy Keeper of the Signet.

Edinburgh had to make contributions in tents, military stores, and arms, for which the inhabitants were assessed 2s. 6d. in the £1 on their rental. The chief magistrates of the boroughs, the Collector of Taxes, the Controller of Customs, were all summoned to Holyrood ‘upon pain of rebellion and high treason,’ and most of them had to come.

Lord George Murray organised the army, which began to assemble from all parts of the country; but this is a part of the subject I must leave untouched.

It is generally stated that Lord George and John Murray hated each other, and were always quarrelling; yet John Murray is found expressing his admiration for Lord George’s

¹ *Trials of the Rebels*, p. 133 *et passim*.

military genius, and Lord George applauding John Murray's business arrangements for the army.¹

Supplies had to be got together for the campaign, and the country requisitioned for horses, carts, arms, corn, hay, and suchlike, for which receipts were given, payment to be made when success was attained. Maclachlan of Maclachlan, a Highland chief, was commissary-general, and in charge of this department. His emissaries seemed to have been most thoroughly instructed in detail. A paper that had been dropped on the road by one of the foraging officers, has luckily been preserved in the Dick-Lauder charter chest. I shall quote part of it :—

Charles, Prince of Wales, etc., Regent of Scotland, England, France, and Ireland, and the Dominions thereto belonging, To George Gordon, Gentleman.

These are empowering you to search for all horses, arms, and ammunition, that you can find in the custody of, or belonging to, any person or persons disaffected to our interest, and seize the same for our use—for the doing of which this shall be your Warrant. Given at Holyrood House, the Eighteenth day of October 1745, by his Highness' command.

J. MURRAY.

After this follow the instructions given to George Gordon of Beldowy :—

You are to take the Musselburgh road through Inveresk, by Carberry, Cousland, Windmiln, Ormiston Park, and House of Muir, where old Mr. Wight lives. You turn to the east from this place to Fountain-hall, Sir Andrew Lauder's house. The stables are above the house ; these secure in the first place, and if you please, Mr. Currie's house, who lives hard by them, and has arms. Don't forget Sir Andrew's horse-furniture, and pistols, which will be in his house. You may likewise ask for arms ; his horse is a bay gelding, I believe.

From this place you march south, through Templehall and Preston to Netherkeith. Leave your horses at Ye Change House, which is upon the road, and without delay go up to the house ; but before you inquire for Mr. Kerr of Keith, detach two men to secure the granary, where the horse stands. This granary is a little to the westward of the house, in the garden. Send one man to the west end of

¹ *Murray of Broughton's Memorials*, p. 240 ; *Lyon in Mourning*, i. p. 260.

it, which is without the garden. Show him your warrant, and order him to open the garden door, and give you the key of the granary ; take no saddle from him, but tell him, if you please, who you are, and you will be made very welcome.

From this you go through Upper Keith to Johnston Burn, belonging to Bailie Crokatt. If you find no horse here worth while, take a saddle. You must return from this place to Upper Keith again, cross the water at Humby Miln, pass Humby because his horses are taken already, and go to Leaston ; the stables are just before the gate. Secure them. Here you may expect something, but deal gently with him, and take only the best.

When you go last, by Kilda and Newtoun, to Newton Hall, if Mr. Newton has not sent his horses away with his friend the Marquis of Tweeddale, he will have something worth your acceptance. His wife is a very fine woman, and a Stewart, a friend of John Roy Stewart. Judge for yourself whether you go there or not.

From this place you return again, and come to Newhall, Lord George Hay's house. You may call here, but I'm afraid everything will be put out of the way.

From thence you go to Eaglescainey. Inquire for a cropt-eared bay gelding, hollow backed : here you may get a good fowling-piece or two. Then you go to Clerkington ; take a guide along with you, and go first to Black House, which is the Mains ; leave a guard here, and go down to the house. Mr. Cockburn has a good gelding and a grey Galloway, with good furniture ; and if he has any good work-horses, take them, as he is a declared enemy. The stables are betwixt Black House and Ye House of Clerkington, opposite the Pigeon House, upon your right hand as you go down to the house.

Mr. Watkins of Kidsbuts—two brown mares and a grey : his stables just at ye back of ye house.

Mr —— at Rachael —— in Giffordhall. Sir Francis Kinloch at Gilmerton, his son, Sheriff of East Lothian. Some good horses, a fowling-piece or two.

The Laird of Congleton, some good horses—as likewise his good-brother, Mr. Hepburn at Beanston.

The Prince would not willingly part with a useful horse. There is a letter from Hamilton of Bangour to his brother-in-law, a Whig Dalrymple, who had written to him to try and recover a favourite horse which had been commandeered. It is a touching letter, for Hamilton's wife had just died, and

the army was to start next day for England. Hamilton promises to do his best for Dalrymple, but holds out faint hopes of recovering his horse, as 'the young gentleman,' as he calls his Prince, does not like to give up a good horse.

Among some law papers of the period, there is an account of a rather remarkable lawsuit. It is an action brought by the heirs of Patrick Hepburn of Kingston, near North Berwick, against the young Laird of Maclachlan—his father, the Commissary-General, was killed at Culloden—for £700, requisitioned by the Prince. The defence is curious. Maclachlan admits the act; he admits that his father was in rebellion against King George; that any of King George's men killed by him were murdered; any wounded were assaulted; and that to have taken money from any such, was robbery. But Kingston was different. He was himself a Jacobite, and, consequently, his goods were rightfully at the service of his acknowledged Prince: only he was such a noted miser that he couldn't make up his mind to part with the money, that Maclachlan was obliged to take it. The exactions do not seem to have been excessive, and ordinary supplies were usually paid for. Sir John Clerk of Penicuik, one of the great landlords of the county, was only commandeered for about £200 worth. The Inch at Liberton was requisitioned by both sides, but the more onerous demand was from the Government authorities, although the laird, Sir Charles Gilmour, was actually a member of the Government, and on duty in London at the time. It was these public requisitions, an inevitable accompaniment of war, not private pillage, that some contemporaries magnified into wholesale robbery.

For some time after the battle of Prestonpans everything seems to have gone on very quietly in Edinburgh, and business was conducted as usual. The Post went out and came in regularly; the newspapers and magazines were published as usual, and citizens received their English and foreign news exactly as before.

What appeal to me most, as showing the settled state of the town, are the advertisements which appear in the newspapers during the Highland occupation. Indeed the tradesmen seem to lay themselves out to cater for their new visitors.

Here are some of the advertisements :—

GAIRDNER & TAYLOR in their Warehouse at the Sign of the Golden Key, opposite to Forrester's Wynd, Lawnmarket, Edinburgh, continue to sell, in Wholesale and Retail, at the lowest prices, all sorts of Woolen, Narrow and Broad Cloths. At above warehouse to be sold at lowest Rates, great choice of Tartans, the newest patterns, Cotton Checks and Sarges, of which they are also Makers. (*September 3, 1745.*)

WILLIAM CHEAPE, Weaver at Bonnymills, near Edinburgh, continues to take in Yarn from all persons, to be woven after the best manner into any kind of Damask, Diaper or Scots Holland. *N.B.*—The Royal Scots Thistle pattern being often chosen, he has for the benefit of his customers drawn a new beautiful figure of the same supported at the root by a Flower de Luce, with Crowns, Motto, etc., in their proper places. (*September 18, 1745.*)

THIS is to give notice to all gentlemen, Travellers and others, that Thomas Beaver is removed from the Crown Tavern on the Key, to the Bull and Crown, in the Fleshmarket, Newcastle, where Mrs. Margaret Hills lately lived : Gentlemen that please to favour him with their company, may depend upon meeting with good entertainment from their obedient and humble servant,
THOMAS BEAVER.

N.B.—I was five years principal cook to George Bowes, Esq. of Gibside, Member of Parliament for the County of Durham. The House is much more commodious than before. (*September 18, 1745.*)

BY Order of the Managers of the Royal Infirmary.—By the increase of patients of late in the Royal Infirmary of Edinburgh for the Sick Poor, the surgeons in attendance are often put to very great inconvenience by the scarcity of old linen cloth for the dressings, which retard, or render difficult, performance of the operations.

The Magistrates return their thanks to some well-disposed persons in Edinburgh, who since the first publication of this Advertisement, in the Prints, the 22nd July last, have seasonably relieved the straits of the House in this way, by sending in old cloth, very proper for the purposes.

N.B.—As there are a great many of those wounded at the late engagement, taken into the Infirmary and Poors' House, it is hoped those who have any old linnen will send it to either of those places, as there is at present a great Demand for it. (*September 30, 1745.*)

LATELY dropt or lost in this City by a gentleman, A Twenty-pound Note of the old Bank of Scotland. Whoever has found, and will deliver the same to Mr. Loch, at the Laigh Coffee House, shall be by him rewarded to their satisfaction, and no questions asked. The finder shall also have the friendship of the gentleman who lost the Note. (*October 2, 1745.*)

SPEEDILY will be published, with His Majesty's Royal Licence, [evidently King George] Proposals (by the proprietors of the Works) for printing by Subscription in twenty volumes octavo, An Universal History, from the earliest account of time. Compiled from Original Authors and illustrated with Maps, Cuts, Notes and other Tables. With a general Index to the whole. . . Subscriptions are taken in by the following proprietors, viz. :—T. Osborne, in Gray's Inn ; A. Millar, in the Strand ; and J. Osborn, in Paternoster Row. And by the Booksellers in Town and Country. (*October 7, 1745.*)

MR. and Mrs. Demainbray being returned to town, purpose on Monday next, being the 14th instant, to attend their School, as usual, at their House in Bishop's Land, next to Carrubber's Close. (*October 9, 1745.*)

Clothiers specially seem to have had a good time. John Campbell the Banker (of whom more anon) records his getting six new shirts, for which he pays Margaret Jack £1, 10s. 'for cambrick and making.' Also clothes from 'Niccol the Tailor,' whose prices he does not mention. Whig friends in the country write to him and order new clothes, and grumble consumedly because they are not up to time.

The Jacobites seem to have patronised a notable tailor, Donald Macdonald, whose shop was in the fashionable Canongate. In the bypaths of the period in which I have wandered this Donald Macdonald is frequently met with, and I cannot resist going a little out of my way to tell a story of him, which is among the Reports by Spies preserved in the Record Office in London. It throws a characteristic side-light on the period, showing the difficulties that Edinburgh tradesmen then had in collecting their accounts. The official document runs thus :—

EDINBURGH, 28th September 1746.

Donald McDonald, Taylor in Canongate, declares, That he was born in the island of Uist (under Sir Alexander McDonald), and that young Clanranald, and several other persons of distinction in Lochaber, being indebted to the Declarant, in the way of his trade, he went in March last to Lochaber, to try to get payment, but meeting with little success . . . has been detained ever since in that country. . . . [He was very courteously treated by Clanranald, but got little money.]

The Declarant in his way hither was stopped at Strontian by three of the Camerons armed with firearms, who laid hold of the Declarant's money, being in all about £12, which he had recovered from his debtors, and after detaining him three days, they dismissed him, and returned him only £4 of his money.

The young Ladies Charlotte and Jean Murray, who, as we know, had been sent to stay with their father's lawyer in Edinburgh, were able to borrow or hire a spinet with which to amuse themselves. They received the visits of their friends

the officer prisoners. They went out and bought lollipops. Lady Charlotte gives us a glimpse into the interior economy of the establishment of a first-class W.S. of the day, 'We have but one dish of meat every day, and that not as big as my two fists. . . . I'm afraid I shall run out my incum with buying Sweatmeats to Cloi my Stomach, as I may not eat up their famely Dinner.' Lady Jean tells her father that 'she received his letters very safe,' and that 'there's no such thing as stoping letters, and tho' I have received a great many, none of them as so much as bin opened by the Highlanders.' The little lady craves for fun. . . . 'Your Grace desires me not to go to any publick place . . . would not your Grace allow me to go ? if not, then I had as well stayed at Dunkeld for the diversion I shall have ; but to be sure Your Grace must order what you please, and I obey.'¹

When the occupation first began, free communication was permitted between the Castle and the town. Two days before the Jacobite advent, the two Edinburgh banks had removed all their cash and securities for safe custody to the Castle. On the 27th of September, however, the Weigh-house Guard received orders to prevent ingress or egress. This order is not explained in any history of the times, but I think there is a certain amount of explanation to be found in the papers of Murray of Broughton. General Guest, Commander in the Castle, was an old friend of John Murray's. Mrs. Quin, the old General's housekeeper, remained in the town. She was terrified lest the General's house should be looted and destroyed, and she appealed to her old acquaintance, Mr. Murray, who reassured her and asked if there was anything he could do to oblige her or the General. She replied that the General lived mostly on milk and butter, which he could not get in the Castle. Might she send some daily by a servant for the old gentleman's use ? 'Most certainly,' said Murray, and gave the necessary pass. But alas for the honour of the army, some days after, the officer commanding

¹ *Atholl Chronicles*, iii. pp. 46, 69.

the guard, suspecting the servant, searched her, and found a letter of intelligence concealed in a print of butter. Perhaps this throws light on the restriction imposed by the Jacobite authorities.

General Guest wrote to the magistrates, threatening to cannonade the town if the blockade were enforced. The Prince replied, threatening full reprisals if this were done. Nevertheless, some days later, General Guest, after giving notice, did cannonade the town two days running, and caused much mischief. A great outcry was made by the Jacobites over this. The wholesale murder of inoffensive citizens was fiercely denounced; but the newspapers declare that only four people were actually killed, though probably a good many were wounded.

On October 5 the Prince removed the blockade. Business went on as before, but after this, things were not so pleasant in Edinburgh as they had been: the people in the Castle got into a way of firing whenever a Highlander was seen.

While the blockade was in force, an incident happened which is perhaps one of the most grotesque in the whole occupation.

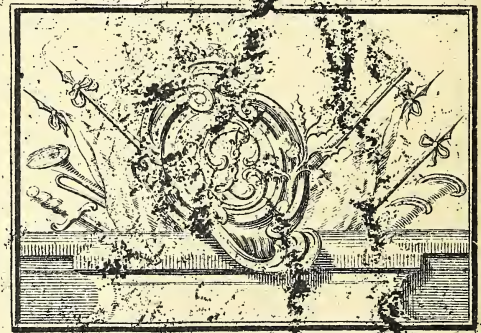
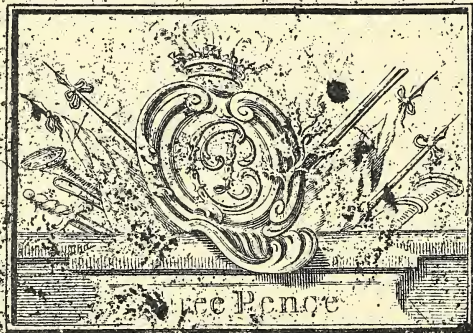
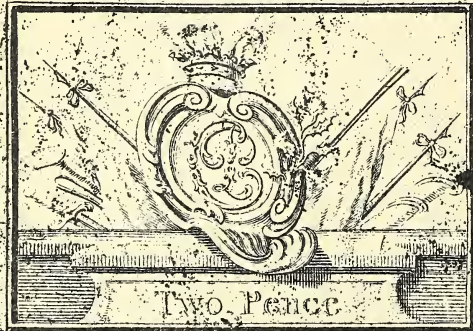
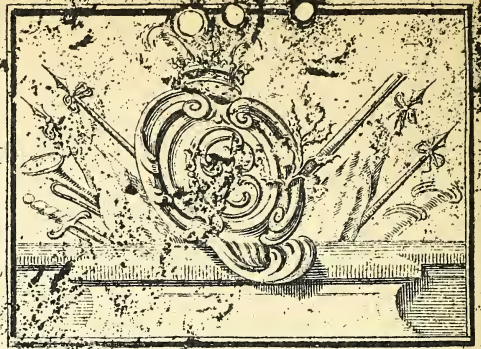
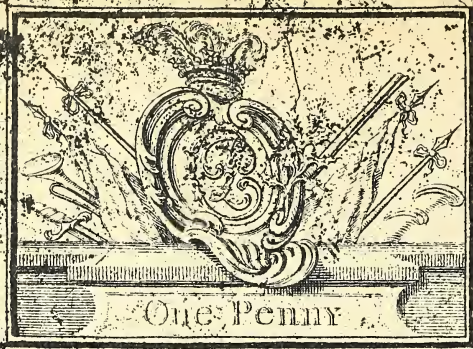
Prince Charles collected the revenues, which, being Scottish, were naturally paid in Scots bank-notes. As a journey to England was in contemplation, it was necessary then, as now, to obtain gold and silver. The Secretary of the Royal Bank was one John Campbell: a notable man from the Breadalbane country.

To Campbell came a demand from Murray of Broughton to cash the Prince's Royal Bank notes. 'I'm very sorry,' said the banker, 'my money's in the Castle, and I can't get at it.' 'I can't help that,' said Murray, 'you shouldn't have sent it there: your notes are a promise to pay, and pay you must, or we will take proceedings against the directors, and levy distress on their estates.' 'But I can't get into the Castle,' said the banker; 'only on Saturday last (before the blockade)

two of the directors and I, and the accountant, and the tellers stood at the gate for an hour, and they wouldn't let us in.' 'Well,' said John Murray, 'I'll give you a pass as far as the gate, and you must get the Governor to let you in somehow.' Accordingly, John Campbell got a letter conveyed to the Castle—though what he actually told General Guest he does not say. Two days later, John Campbell and three of his directors with the accountant and the teller marched up to the Weigh-house Guard, at the head of the Lawnmarket. A Mr. Cameron was in command, who read the pass and took the bank party through the Highland sentinels, past the reservoir, to the edge of the Castle Esplanade; there he left them. The bankers hoisted a white flag, and waved it until ordered by the Castle sentinel to come on. They were taken to the commandant's quarters, where they met both Guest and Preston. They said they had bank business to transact, and then, under the very eyes of King George's Commander-in-Chief, they drew money to cash Prince Charles's drafts to the amount, on this occasion, of £3164, and back they went to the town with the coin. With subsequent transactions Prince Charles got in all about £6100 from the Royal Bank.¹ What transactions he had with the Bank of Scotland I do not know.

Up till now, the army and the town had been put to grievous inconvenience for want of silver change, as all the money was in the Castle. Lord George writes to his brother the day before the above incident, that they proposed to coin some of the plate that had been sent in contribution by secret adherents. The old Cunzie House or Scottish Mint, at the corner of Candlemaker Row and the Cowgate, still existed, and by Treaty of Union, the establishment was kept up, and though the old Scots dies were destroyed in 1707, no doubt minting could have been organised; but after John Murray forced the hand of the bankers, the pressure seems to have been removed, for we find no more proposals to coin money.

¹ Scottish History Society's *Miscellany*, vol. i. p. 537.



PAPER MONEY ENGRAVED FOR PRINCE CHARLES BY ROBERT STRANGE.

While on the subject of money difficulties it may be interesting to note another curious incident. Six months later, when, in the closing weeks of his campaign, the Prince had retreated to Inverness, and was there awaiting the approach of Cumberland, he found great difficulty in getting money to pay his soldiers. Robert Strange, the young engraver, whose early education by Richard Cooper, has been already referred to, was in the Prince's army. He had been no Jacobite himself, but his sweetheart, Isabella Lumisden, was the most enthusiastic Jacobite in all Scotland, and naturally her lover was forced to engage, and he joined the Prince's Life-guards. At Inverness the Prince sent for him, told him he thought of issuing a paper currency for the service of the army, and asked what young Strange could do for him. He replied that if he could get a copper plate and a rolling press, he would be able to manage something. With great ingenuity he manufactured both, and in a fortnight produced a plate, the design of which the Prince highly approved. Strange was just ready to begin printing when news was brought that Cumberland had crossed the Spey. The same day the Highland army marched to meet him; and two days later, all Jacobite hopes were quenched for ever on Culloden Moor.

Strange afterwards became the most celebrated engraver of his day, and was knighted by George III. Sir Robert never saw his plate again, and in a brief Memoir he left behind him, he says he would gladly pay a considerable sum to obtain a specimen of his juvenile work. What he could not recover, curiously, we can now see. About a century later Strange's copper plate of Prince Charles's notes was found in a moor in Badenoch, and was given to Cluny Macpherson. By the courtesy of his son, the late Cluny (Colonel Ewen Macpherson), who lent me the plate, I am able to reproduce here a print of this interesting sheet.

The Jacobite song says—

The women are a' gaun wud
O that he had bidden awa'.

Duncan Forbes of Culloden, writing of the result of Prestonpans, two months after the battle, says :—

‘All Jacobites, how prudent soever, became mad, all doubtful people became Jacobites, and all bankrupts became heroes, and talked nothing but hereditary rights and victory ; and what was more grievous to men of gallantry, and if you will believe me, much more mischievous to the public, all the fine ladies, if you will except one or two, became passionately fond of the young adventurer, and used all their arts and industry for him, in the most intemperate manner.’

A Whig journal, writing three weeks after Culloden, and meaning to be bitterly severe, says :—

‘William’ (*i.e.* Cumberland) ‘was celebrated for his bravery, Charles for his chastity. Charles loved the men better than the women, and yet, which is wonderful, the less he courted them, the faster they followed him.’

The Marquis d’Eguilles, who was French ambassador to the fleeting Jacobite court, writes gravely to his Government : ‘In general, all the young and pretty women are Jacobites, and the most of them are only such since the arrival of the young Prince. It is not that he is coquettish, or a man of gallantry—quite the contrary : it is because he is not, that the Scotswomen, who are naturally serious and impassioned, conclude of him that he is really tender, and will remain constant. It is a woman who has given me this explanation, but be this as it may, it is certain that the friendship of the ladies is not the least powerful force for his party.’

They made him presents of plate and valuables, and articles of household use, of which last, Mrs. Murray of Broughton took affectionate care. Isabella Lumisden’s gift of a special table-cloth and a dozen napkins, probably her own spinning, are especially mentioned by the Master of the Household. Alas ! they fell into the enemy’s hands after Culloden. But it was in inspiring their relations or their vassals with enthusiasm that the ladies most served Prince Charles. We have seen how Miss Lumisden forced out her lover. Lady

Kilmarnock forced out her husband. Lady Nithsdale did her best with her lord, who ran away after joining at Edinburgh, where his mortified wife remained to atone for his desertion. Lady Seaforth raised many Mackenzies, though her husband was hot for King George. It was chiefly owing to the passionate devotion of Lady Nairne and the Duchess of Perth that Perthshire was so ardently Jacobite.¹ The Duchess-Dowager of Gordon, daughter of the great Whig Earl of Peterborough, sent her young son, Lord Lewis, to Holyrood. She entertained Prince Charles at Fountainhall: for these services she forfeited a Government pension of £1000 a year; but her son, the Duke, stuck to King George. Perhaps the most remarkable of all was the wife of the Chief of Mackintosh, Anne Farquharson of Invercauld, whose husband and father and brother were all on King George's side. Lady Mackintosh, of whom the French ambassador enthusiastically writes to his Government, 'there is nothing so beautiful as this woman,'² was fondly attached to her husband; but when she found she could not gain him over, she boldly raised his own clan against the Chief. On one occasion, by courage and foresight, she saved her Prince's life. Of her husband there is a tradition that he prosaically chose King George's side, saying, 'the Laird of Mackintosh will serve the King, who will pay him half-a-guinea the day and half-a-guinea the morn.'³

During the occupation, the inhabitants of Edinburgh appear to have accepted the situation with remarkable equanimity, and Whig and Jacobite to have lived in amity and good-fellowship. As Sir Walter Scott has pointed out, party feeling has never interfered with social friendliness in Edinburgh, and he might have said in Scotland. Except the Government officials, few Whigs seem to have left the town. Professor Colin Maclaurin, who had superintended the

¹ This theme is elaborated in a chapter of Lady Tullibardine's *Military History of Perthshire*, p. 313.

² 'Rien n'est si beau que cette femme.' (*Correspondence du Marquis d'Eguilles*, p. 50.)

³ Notes to *Waverley*, ch. xix.

defences, paid a visit to the Archbishop of York ; and George Drummond, the Whig civic leader, went to London, to court a Quakeress widow, who subsequently became his fourth wife. Provost Stewart seems to have held aloof from intercourse with the Prince's party, and the only mention I have found of him during the occupation is in a paper in the Record Office, where his dining one day at Mrs. Walker's public-house, with Lord George Murray and other Jacobite leaders, is mentioned.

Alexander Carlyle, an arrant Whig, comes up to Edinburgh and lodges in all friendship with the Setons of Touch, a family of staunch Jacobites. The Whig Lady Jane Murray protests against being deprived of the Jacobite diversions which other Whig ladies are doubtless enjoying. John Campbell, the Whig banker, dines and sups at Holyrood with John Murray, and meets Lord Breadalbane and other Whigs and Jacobites. John Murray of Broughton sends milk and butter to General Guest at the Castle. Robertson of Struan goes back from Prestonpans clad in Cope's fur cloak, and visits his friend the Whig minister of Dunblane, his very antipodes in politics. The minister chaffs him gently on his improved circumstances. 'All the effects of *your* good prayers, Mr. Simpson,' laughs back Struan. Most noteworthy of all—for it has given us the romance of *Waverley*, and all that followed in its train—is the friendship between Stewart of Invernahyle and Colonel Whitford of the Marines, whose life the Highland chieftain had saved at Prestonpans. Invernahyle, when returning to Appin to raise fresh recruits for Prince Charles, went out of his way to pay King George's Colonel a visit in Ayrshire, and spent the time, says Sir Walter, among his Whig friends 'as pleasantly and good-humouredly as if all had been at peace around him.'

Until the English came on the scene, our forefathers seemed to have looked on the whole business as a political quarrel, not a civil war, and if political, there was no need for personal animosity.

The country was willing to acquiesce in a Stewart restoration. The Writers to the Signet, we are told, were for the most part Jacobite in sympathy, as were two-thirds of the gentry. The Commons were absolutely indifferent. In an old law paper I find a bailie accused of saying, ' That it was a matter of indifference who was King—whether King George or Prince Charles—that he would rather prefer Prince Charles, because he had taken such pains to get it. What did the burgh care who was King ; they had friends on both sides. He didn't care though King George were at Jericho ' ; and herein are summed up the sentiments of the majority of the laity.

But King James had a powerful enemy in the clergy of the Established Church. King William had established them, King George maintained them, King James would undo them. It is true there were here and there a few, very few, ardent Jacobites among the Presbyterian clergy ; but, for the most part, they were the Prince's persistent and powerful adversaries. After the crash—to their credit be it spoken—they were generally the kindest friends to the hunted Jacobites, and nearly universal advocates for mercy to the fallen. Presbyteries implored pardon for the Aberdeenshire lairds, and were snubbed and laughed at by the very men who had fled at Prestonpans and Falkirk. Even the ministers had no personal objection to the Stewarts—it was their national Zion they wished to protect. Carlyle, the minister, with characteristic latitudinarianism, sneers at Charles's want of courage in not ' venturing to the High Church of Edinburgh and taking the Sacrament, as his great-uncle Charles II. had taken the Covenant ' ; and thus he would have secured Scotland.

After Culloden Scotland became fiercely Jacobite through sympathy and indignation. There was in Edinburgh a perfect mania for Jacobite tartan, which the ladies wore as plaids and gowns and riding-habits, and used as bed quilts, curtains, and even shoes and pincushions. The Whig leaders were at their

wits' end, and proposed to dress the hangman in Royal Stewart tartan, but a cleverer course was chosen—they made their ladies assume Whig tartan, and the Jacobite ladies gave it up.¹

Considering the extraordinary statements that have been made by Buckle and other English historians, and the somewhat sordid and unnecessary investigations in villainy lately made by a brilliant modern writer, it may be well to examine for a moment here the true motives of three of the men who made the Forty-five possible.

These men were Lochiel, Lord Pitsligo, and Lord George Murray. Each went out with the greatest reluctance, knowing that he was going to nearly certain destruction.

Without Lochiel—the gentle Lochiel—the great Highland reformer, none of the Western clans would have moved.

It was the example of Lord Pitsligo—a scholar, a writer on religion, a man of earnest piety, of whom a contemporary wrote that he was ‘not beloved but adored,’ and that he was ‘the best husband, the best father, the best friend, the best subject in Great Britain,’—it was his example that brought out the Aberdeenshire contingent.

Lord George Murray, the brother and heir of the Duke of Atholl, influenced Perthshire and the Midland Counties.

Each of these joined the Rising without any illusion, as a pure matter of duty.

Lochiel's case is well known, and is mentioned in every history and immortalised in a well-known poem by Thomas Campbell; he reluctantly went out in response to the Prince's appeals to his loyalty.

Lord Pitsligo, when in hiding, ruined and pursued, tells how ‘he thought he weighed and weighed again. If there was any enthusiasm in it at the outset it was of the coldest kind, and there was as little remorse when the affair miscarried as there was eagerness at the beginning.’ It is related that when his little troop had assembled for the march he put himself at its head, and taking off his

¹ *Ochertyre MSS.*, ii. p. 85.

hat, he turned his face upwards for a moment and prayed aloud, 'O Lord, Thou knowest that our cause is just'—then turning to his followers he said quickly, 'Gentlemen, march.'

Lord George Murray had the same motives, but little has ever been said about these in history. I will quote a few lines from a letter written, at the time he 'went out,' to his brother James, Duke of Atholl, who stayed by King George:—

This letter is not wrote with a view to argue or reason with you upon the subject. I own frantly, that now that I am to ingage, that what I do may and will be recon'd desperat, and tho' all appearances seem to be against me, Interest, prudence, and the obligations to you which I ly under, would prevent most people in my situation from taking a resolution that may very probably end in my utter ruen.

My Life, my Fortune, my expectations, the Happyness of my wife and children, are all at stake (and the chances are against me), and yet a principle of (what seems to me) Honour, and my Duty to King and Country, outweighs every thing.

You may believe that I have weighted what I am going about with all the deliberation I am capable off, and suppose I were sure of dieing in the attempt, it would neither deter or prevent me.¹

One more instance may be quoted, and it is of a less prominent Jacobite, an Englishman—a simple captain of horse.

He tells: 'I seemed to hear an invitation, "Leave your nets and follow me." I felt a paternal ardour pervade my veins, and having before my eyes the admonition, "Serve God and then your King," I immediately became one of his followers.'²

Edinburgh has not much cause to be proud of her conduct in 1745. If she did little for King George, she did less for Prince Charles.

One short year after the occupation we find a lady who had been one of the enthusiastic Jacobites, and whose brother, Sir James Stewart, was in exile for his Jacobite loyalty, writing in the highest spirits of the gaities of the town, of a ball in honour of King George's birthday, to which all the

¹ *Atholl Chronicles*, iii. p. 19.

² *Progress of Captain Daniell*, MS.

Jacobites were going, and exulting in the presence of so many officers to enhance the town's gaiety.

The Edinburgh Jacobites shouted for Prince Charles, but would not fight for him.

Out of all Edinburgh not many enlisted. I can only find the names of one Advocate and two Writers to the Signet who went with him, though we know that the majority of them were Jacobite in sentiment. Many medical men went out. In the Jacobite army no fewer than forty-four surgeons and physicians can be traced. It is interesting to see how two of the best and loyalest—Ratray and Lauder—were recruited; like the great majority of Prince Charles's army, they were reluctant to go out. Here is John Murray of Broughton's account of the transaction:—

Having few surgeons of experience in the army, the Chevalier gave orders that if none could be found to go willingly, that they should be pressed, and in obedience to his order, Mr. Ratray, Mr. Lauder, and Mr. Ramsay were severally taken out of their beds the morning that the town was evacuated; but Mr. Ramsay, representing that he was of a very weakly constitution, and unable to undergo the fatigue of the journey, had his liberty to return home; the other two being thought abundantly robust, were refused to return.

This was on the 31st of October, the day on which Prince Charles marched away from Edinburgh, never to return.

I have as yet said nothing about the central figure of this romantic drama. All the other actors moving about Old Edinburgh I can picture to myself, but the Prince I cannot see.

At the time he seems to have been enveloped by such a glamour of divine right, that those around him could only mention him in tones of rhapsody.¹ In the Memoirs of the

¹ The following extract from a letter written by Miss Threipland after returning from the Court at Holyrood is a fair specimen of this:—'Oh, had you beheld my beloved Hero, you must confess he is a Gift from Heaven; but then, besides his outward appearance, which is absolutely the *best figure* I ever saw, such Vivacity, such piercing Wit, woven with a clear Judgment and an active Genius, and allowed by all to have a Capacity apt to receive such impressions as are not usually stamp'd on every brain: in short, Madam, he is the *Top of Perfection* and *Heaven's Darling*.'—*Threiplands of Fingask*, p. 43.

period which I have perused, and they are legion, I can find little authentic contemporary information about the shadowy court at Holyrood; Lord Elcho gives something, but not much.¹ In the letters of the French ambassador to his court, there is nothing bearing on the life at Holyrood; nor is there anything to be found in the French Foreign Office, where many of the papers of this period were destroyed at the Revolution.

The few glimpses to be gathered are for the most part from Lord Elcho. The Prince held court at the palace with great splendour and magnificence, receiving his officers every morning. At ten o'clock he held a council. and an unruly council it often was. Then he dined in public with his principal gentlemen while a crowd of all sorts of people watched him. After dinner he rode out with his Life-guards and inspected the troops, returning to Holyrood, where he received the ladies of fashion who came to his court. He supped in public, when there was generally music, and after that dancing.

There are few old Jacobite families who have not a traditional ancestress who danced with Prince Charlie at Holyrood, but I fear no such claim can be allowed. We are expressly told that at Edinburgh he never danced,² and what is more, that he did not wear the kilt, but when in Highland costume he dressed in tartan coat and breeches, and always wore boots.³

An Edinburgh Whig lady writes to her daughter in London: 'The young gentleman that we have got among us, busses the ladies so, that he gains our hearts.' On the other hand, Lord Elcho says: 'There came a great many ladies of fashion to kiss his hand, but his behaviour to them was very cool: he had not been much used to women's company, and

¹ *Affairs in Scotland, 1744-46*, edited by Hon. Evan Charteris, p. 306, etc.

² Maxwell of Kirkconnel's *Narrative*, p. 136.

³ Chalmers' *Caledonia* (1889), iv. p. 717.

was always embarrassed when he was with them.' After supper he took refuge from court embarrassments with his army. He generally went to the camp at Duddingston to spend the night under canvas with his soldiers, and there he always slept in his clothes.

There is a story told of his rudely rebuking Grant of Glenmoriston, a Highland chieftain, for bursting in on him at Holyrood, in an unkempt state, after a toilsome march from the North. The story, though told to Robert Chambers by a Grant, may only be gossip; this rudeness was absolutely unlike Charles; moreover, the Grants of Glenmoriston joined him when he was at Duddingston, not at Holyrood.

Alexander Carlyle, who saw the Prince on several occasions, is struck with his profound melancholy. Tradition says he visited many houses in and near Edinburgh—the Grange, Prestonfield, and others—and spent much of his time with the stately Lady Eglinton and her beautiful daughters, but of all this I can find nothing.

In a tantalising paragraph in the *Life of the Grammarian Ruddiman*, who was a consistent Jacobite, we are told that he had a few minutes' interview with his Prince, but where, or when, or why, is not stated.

Charles had the royal gift of remembering faces, even of the humblest. At Holyrood he was accessible to all, and spoke familiarly to the meanest Highlanders; and after Prestonpans he talked kindly to his unfortunate prisoners. His public acts were dignified and kingly. Everything he did inclined to humanity and mercy.

On the other hand, he was accused of favouring his Irish followers and of keeping his Scottish adherents at arm's length, while his treatment of Lord George Murray is a dark blot on the Prince's conduct.

It is not Charles's conduct in prosperity that has endeared him to Scotland and enshrined him in myth, and song, and

romance. Many say the Prince should have died at Culloden. Had he done this he would have been known as a rash young man, who, to win a crown, lured his unfortunate adherents to ruin and death, and perished in the attempt. He might then have been Prince *Charles*, but never Prince *Charlie*.

It was after Culloden that Charles conquered Scotland. I do not think he behaved well to our country in coming over utterly unprepared; and I do not think (although to their eternal credit many of them went cheerfully to death for his sake) that the majority of Jacobite Scotland behaved well to him in his campaign; common-sense was stronger than knightly honour. After Culloden Charles's conduct was that of a hero. Hunted for five months through the Highlands and Islands, frequently days and nights without food, drenched with rain, covered with vermin, suffering from a wearing disease, he never lost heart or spirits. Cheerful when others succumbed, and always dignified, he inspired the utmost devotion and admiration in his little band of followers.

But it was something more than this, something far more subtle that really endeared Charles to Scotland.

To explain the true inwardness of what I mean it is simplest to quote two passages of Scripture, and I trust that I shall not be considered guilty of irreverence when I do so.

The first is: 'It is more blessed to give than to receive.'

The other is this: If ever a human being could quote with absolute literalness the words of the divine Lord, 'I was an hungered and ye gave me meat; I was thirsty and ye gave me drink; I was a stranger and ye took me in; naked and ye clothed me, sick and ye visited me; I was in [danger of] prison and ye came unto me,' it was this hunted heir of the ancient monarchy. He threw himself on the people, and they took him to their hearts.

What shall we say of those simple Highlanders who protected him, followed him, loved him, and suffered for him.

There was a King's ransom in their grasp, but they scorned it; neither friend nor foe would betray the unfortunate fugitive.

Is it generally known that Kingsburgh who sheltered him, Lady Margaret Macdonald who cherished him, and Flora Macdonald who saved him, were all—in theory at least—on King George's side? These, it is true, were gentle folk, but wherever he went in his weary five months' wanderings the same constancy and devotion were shown by the humblest peasantry. He trusted them, and his trust was not betrayed. None would disgrace our country by giving him up, no matter what the reward or what the punishment.

It is I think the subtle consciousness of having proved worthy of such a trust: it is this episode of untarnished honour won for our country by these simple mountaineers,—of whom the representatives to-day are not the tailor-made Highlanders resplendent in Jacobite tartans, but the poor crofters:—it is their honour that has made it possible for us to be not ashamed of the Forty-five.

W. B. BLAIKIE.



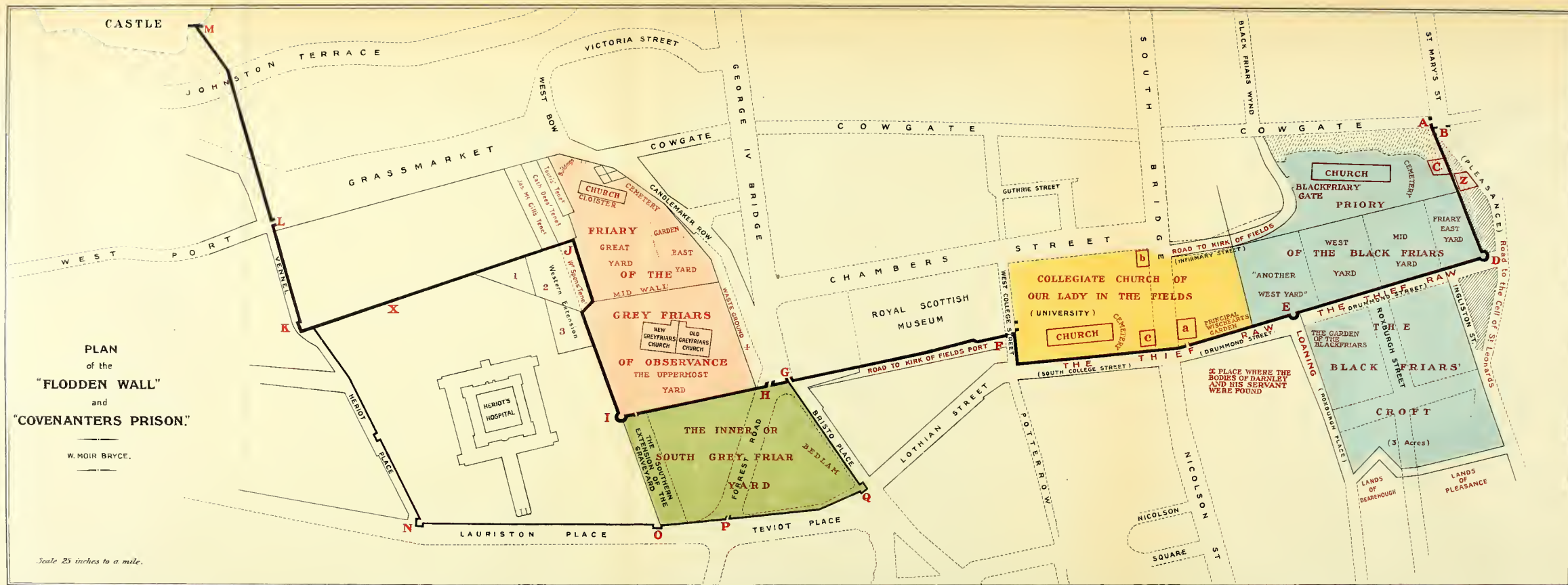
- Blue.*—Grounds of the Priory of the Blackfriars. Erected 1620-28,
Yellow.—Grounds of the Collegiate Church of our Lady in T (UNIVERSITY)
 a. Site of the Prebendary House of Darnley and his servant were 11 and 2. In 1544, it was feued to the 30th August 1554, and then b
 b. Site of Hospital of Kirk of Field Preston on 20th N
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EXPLANATORY NOTES.

Blue.—Grounds of the Priory of the Blackfriars.

Yellow.—Grounds of the Collegiate Church of our Lady in the Fields.

a. Site of the Prebendary House of the Kirk of Fields, in which Darnley and his servant were murdered in 1567. To this house there was a doorway in the City wall, through which the bodies were carried to the field beyond. The house was totally destroyed by the explosion.

b. Site of Hospital of Kirk of Fields, destroyed by the English in 1544. It was feued to the Duke of Chatelherault on 30th August 1554, and then became known as "Hamilton House." (*MS. Charter in City Chambers*). The road from the

Cowgate by the Black Friary to the Kirk of Fields terminated at this house. On the night of the murder of Darnley the bags of gunpowder were handed over to his murderers at the Blackfriars gate, whence they were carried up this road to the Prebendary House.

c. Site of the house of the Provost of the Kirk of Fields.

Red.—Grounds of the Greyfriars of Observance.

Green.—The Inner or South Greyfriars' Yard in which the Covenanters were imprisoned in June 1679. In the 18th century this yard was divided into three parts, viz.—(1) Bedlam and its garden on the east; (2) the Charity Workhouse and its grounds; and (3) the southern extension of the graveyard.

Line of the Flodden Wall.—A. D. E. F. G. I. J. K. L. M.

Line of Telfer's, or the Third City Wall:—(1) Erected 1620-28, K.N.O. (2) Erected 1636, O. P. Q. G.

The Gushet.—Part of the 8½ acres sold to Governors of Heriot's Hospital and feued off by them—indicated in plots numbered 1 and 2.

Western Extension of Graveyard composed of plots 2 and 3, the latter excambied from the Governors of Heriot's Hospital in exchange for plot 1 of the gushet (17 April 1791).

Piece of Waste Ground feued by Magistrates to John Preston on 20th November 1567—marked No. 4.

A.—Cowgate or Blackfriars' Port. B.—St Mary's Port.

C.—House bounded on the west by the Blackfriars' Cemetery.

D.—Tower at foot of Drummond Street.

E.—Second Tower in Drummond Street, fronting Roxburgh Place.

F.—Kirk of Fields Port, afterwards Potterrow Port.

G.—Greyfriars' Port and latterly Society or Bristo Port. The *cul-de-sac* is still called Bristo Port.

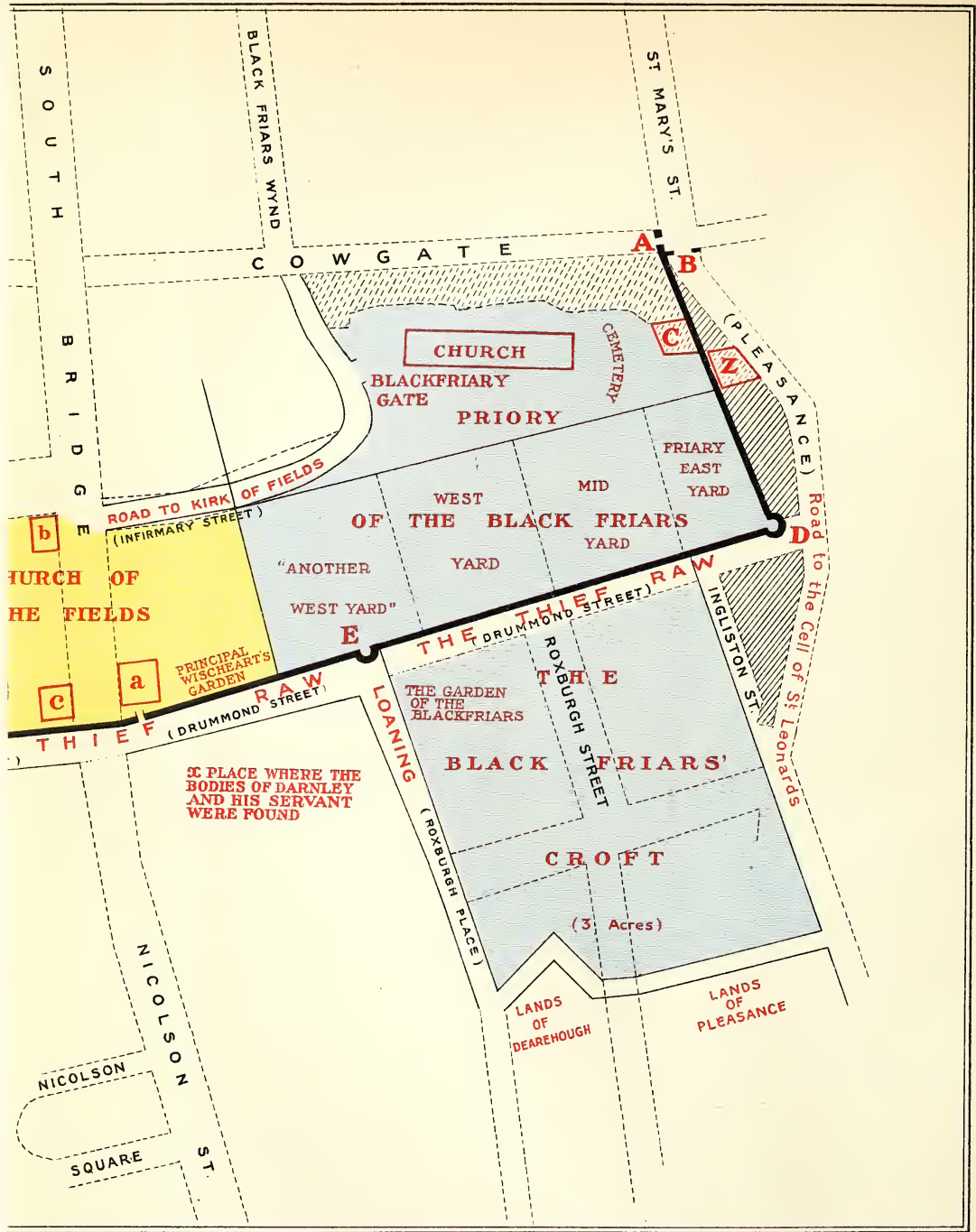
H.—The "New Port" through the Inner or South Greyfriars' Yard.

I.—Greyfriars' Tower or Blockhouse. K.—Tower in the Vennel. L.—West Port.

P.—Gate made in the beginning of the 18th Century for access to the Meadows.

X.—Portion of wall referred to in dispute between the Magistrates and Heriot's Hospital.

Z.—Site of the Nunnery of St. Mary of Placentia.



K.N.O.

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E.—Second Tower in Drummond Street, fronting Roxburgh Place.

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THE FLODDEN WALL OF EDINBURGH¹

THE Flodden campaign was abruptly terminated by the gravest disaster that had ever attended a Scottish army, and the calamities that it carried in its train seriously affected the progress of the country during the succeeding half-century. Noble, burgher, and peasant mourned their losses in common. The nascent prosperity that had marked the reign of James IV. was checked, and an era of decadence, the result of internecine turmoil and corruption in public life, was ushered in. France, in spite of the Treaty of Rouen, proved an ally that was sensible of her obligations only under the extreme pressure of necessity. The example of the Regent Albany and the Queen-Dowager was readily followed by an ambitious, turbulent, and unscrupulous nobility, and soon became the standard of political morality during the evolution of the Reformation in this country. One outstanding landmark of the event still remains with us in the existing portions of the wall which the burghers of Edinburgh, with undismayed courage, hastily erected round the south side of their town as a defence against the anticipated inroad of the English conquerors. This wall, the second of its kind in our city, is, and has always been, known as the Flodden Wall, and the following is an attempt to trace its course and the story of its erection.

It was in the middle of the month of August 1513 that the royal standard was unfurled on the Hare-stane—now

¹ To avoid unnecessary footnotes, the dates given are to be held as sufficient reference to the Council Records, whether in print or MS. These Records are printed from 1402 to 1589.

erected on the west outer wall of Morningside Parish Church—in the Burgh Muir of Edinburgh, and around it assembled the largest army that ever, prior to the Union, responded to the call of a Scottish king. Chroniclers assert that it reached in number the fabulous—for Scotland at this date—dimensions of 100,000 fighting-men; but it is clear that the extent of ground was insufficient for the accommodation of such an enormous host with its camp-followers. The ‘burgh muir’ in the early half of the sixteenth century had, no doubt, a wide signification rather than a strict definition. It extended from the Meadows southward over the ridge at Strathearn Road and Greenhill down to the foot of the Braid Hills, and included westward a portion, if not all, of the lands of Merchiston and Morningside. The pennon of the Earl Marshal, which was carried on this occasion by ‘black’ John Skirving of Plewland Hill near Edinburgh, is now preserved in the Advocates’ Library. Skirving was captured at Flodden, but managed to conceal the flag round his person. On the 19th of August, under the leadership of their provost, Sir Alexander Lauder of Blyth, and his four bailies, the contingent of burghers and incorporated craftsmen marched out by the West Bow behind their famous flag, the ‘Blue Blanket,’¹ to their appointed place on the muir. Before their departure, however, due provision ‘for the common weill and profite of the toun and guid reuill thairintill’ was made by installing George Towris as president of the Council and four others—Robert Brus, William Lokhart, William Adamesoun, and William Clerk—to act temporarily during the absence of the provost and the bailies. To these five were given full jurisdiction, to do justice, make the necessary statutes, and punish transgressors. The burghers left behind were to be formed into a night watch, one ‘quarter of thame ilk nycht,’ while the recusants were to be imprisoned

¹ Presented to the Craftsmen by James III., and now preserved in the Trades Maiden Hospital.



THE FLODDEN WALL.
NORTH-WESTERN ANGLE OF TOWER IN VENNEL.

until 'the provestis hame cumming.' With a foreboding of personal disaster, only too soon to be realised, Sir Alexander had obtained, two days before joining the army, the royal confirmation to a charter of mortification whereby, in return for an annual rent of fifteen merks payable from a tenement in the High Street, divine services for the weal of his soul would be celebrated before the altar of the Virgin and St. Gabriel in the Collegiate Church of St. Giles on the anniversary of his death—his obit day, as it was termed. It was also the custom at this period for the burghers of Edinburgh to make provision, on these occasions, for the distribution of doles or 'portions' of food and drink among the poor. Sir Alexander was Justice-Depute to Lord Gray, the King's Justiciar, and, being a man of considerable wealth, he bequeathed sixty 'portions,' each of the value of ninepence, and consisting of bread, beer, and flesh or fish, according to the season.¹ In spite of the vigilance of the 'presidentis,' some timid skulkers were found in the city, and, on the 25th, an edict was issued 'that all maner of personis pas to our Soverane Lordis army under the panys contenit in the proclamation maid thairupoun of befoir.' On the following day it was further ordained that 'all personis that remainis at hame' from the army, report themselves to the watch, 'that thair names may be put in writt in the wache buke.' These timorous burghers of Edinburgh were not, however, the only Scotsmen who endeavoured to evade their feudal obligations to their ill-fated Sovereign. The army had by this time left its encampment on the muir, and proceeded on its fatal march southward, shedding on the way the usual wearied stragglers that are to be found in every martial array. By an ordinance of 5th September these stragglers were ordered to return to their duty; while, at the same time, all the fighting-men—'fensabill personis'—in the neighbourhood of the town were also instructed to join the army under 'tynsal of lyfe, land,

¹ *Charters of St. Giles*, p. 199 (Bann. Club).

and guidis.' If they failed to obey, their names were to be taken, so that they 'may be responsabill to our Soverane Lordis returning, be Goddis grace, hame agane.'

Within four days the great disaster occurred, and, with proverbial celerity, rumours of the sad event reached the town in the course of the following day, producing the most intense excitement and grief among the inhabitants. The presidents and Council also anticipated that the defeat would be followed by invasion, and that in a few days the conquerors would be knocking at the gates. They, therefore, issued the well-known proclamation—brief and determined, but intensely pathetic in its patriotism—calling upon the citizens to arm themselves and be ready at the sound of the town bell to assemble to repel the foreign invader. Clamorous and 'cry-and' women were ordered to their homes; but all good women, should necessity arise, were to go to St. Giles, and there pray for the King and his army, and for those of their fellow-burghers who had fallen in the fight. Of all the many disasters that are recorded in the pages of our Scottish histories, none have ever evoked in intensity the profound grief that stirred the hearts of the burghers on the day when the news of the disaster reached Edinburgh; and the remembrance of that painful hour finds, with almost equal feeling, expression in prose and verse even at the present day. The proclamation ran thus:—

'Forsamekill as thair is ane greit rumour now laitlie rysin within this toun tuiching our Soverane Lord and his army, of the quhilk we understand thair is cumin na veritie as yit, thairfore we charge straitlie and commandis in our said Soverane Lord the Kingis name, and the presidentis for the provest and baillies within this burgh, that all maner of personis nychtbouris within the samyn have reddye thair fensabill geir and wapponis for weir, and compeir thairwith to the said presidentis at jowyng of the commoun bell, for the keeping and defens of the toun aganis thame that wald invaid the samyn.

'And, als, chairgis that all wemen, and specialie vagaboundis, that thai pas to thair labouris and be nocht sene upoun the gait clamorand



THE FLODDEN WALL.
SOUTHERN FACE OF TOWER IN VENNEL.

and cryand, under the pane of banesing of the personis but favouris, and that the uther wemen of gude pas to the kirk and pray, quhane tyme requiris, for our Soverane Lord and his armye and nychtbouris being thairat, and hald thame at thair previe labouris of the gate within thair houssis as efferis.'

In arranging their mode of defence against the anticipated invasion, the president, George Towris of Inverleith—a scion of an ancient Edinburgh family that had owned the lands of Dalry, Drumdryan, and Highriggs from the year 1388,—and his patriotic fellow-magistrates decided upon covering the whole of the south side of the burgh, from the east end of the Cowgate to the Castle, with a fortified protecting wall, duly provided with enfilading towers at intervals and at the salient angles. Artillery, with the necessary ammunition, was also to be supplied, although the wall itself, as erected, was at no time fitted with artillery platforms or fighting banquettes. Two of the towers were ordered in 1578 to be fitted with platforms; but that at the Vennel, the only surviving tower, was certainly never furnished with a platform for artillery. Edinburgh was, in these days, still confined to the long high ridge between the Castle and Holyrood; and the future expansion of the town was considered to be in a southerly direction. The Cowgate was then beginning to be built upon from the east end; but it was soon afterwards to become the fashionable place of residence. On the south bank of the valley of the Cowgate and the Grassmarket were congregated four large religious houses, which, with their extensive grounds, formed considerable obstacles to the proper completion of the scheme. On the high ground at the east, overlooking the little nunnery of Placentia that gave its name to the Pleasance, stood the Priory of the Dominicans or Black Friars—often utilised as the royal guest-house, and as the place of meetings of the Exchequer as well as the Provincial Councils of the Church. Immediately to the west of the Priory, on the site now occupied by the University buildings,

was the Collegiate Church of Our Lady in the Fields—the scene of the murder of Darnley ; and further west, near the end of the Cowgate, was the Maison Dieu, or poorhouse, with its chapel of Mary Magdalene, the only relic now remaining of these pre-Reformation houses. The Friary of the Observantine Grey Friars—men who rejoiced in being known as the ‘ friends ’ and ‘ fathers of the poor ’—completed the chain on the extreme west. The magistrates decided, wisely from a tactical point of view, to enclose all these institutions within their lines of circumvallation, thereby largely increasing the total length of the circuit of the wall. Considering the limited population of the town, the building of the Flodden Wall was a work of some magnitude, and must have proved a severe strain on the then straitened resources of the citizens. It is not surprising, therefore, that the magistrates, under the pressure of the moment, and to save expense, should have adopted the plan of utilising and incorporating with it the ‘ heid dykis ’ and other walls that happened to be already erected on the chosen route. These were strengthened and heightened ; but, on the eve of the Reformation, considerable portions had become ‘ decayit ’ and fallen down, necessitating their re-erection. This work gave much concern to the magistrates for many years, and the erection of the completed wall may, therefore, be regarded as the outcome of several distinct epochs, and not of one, as is generally understood.

Now, it is from the Burgh Records that the story of the erection of the Flodden Wall is to be mainly gleaned. Unfortunately, the merciless destruction of the city during Hertford’s invasion in May 1544, and the vicissitudes of time, have lost to us the major portion of these contemporary registers, and the information to be now derived therefrom is somewhat circumscribed. On the 30th September 1513, we learn that Sir Alexander Lauder was succeeded in the provostship by that unworthy Scot, Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, known to history as ‘ Bell-the-Cat.’ On his death,



THE VENNEL.
VIEW LOOKING NORTHWARDS.

two months afterwards, the five presidents once more took office, and on 17th March of the following year, with consent of the Crown, they levied on the citizens a sum of £500 Scots for the ‘furnesing and defens,’ and, according to the rubric, ‘the walling of the town.’ The debts, escheats, and fines due to the burgh were also devoted to this purpose. The Town Council, however, already possessed the power under two charters¹—one granted by James II. in 1450, and the other in 1472 by James III.—to fosse, wall, tower, turret, and otherwise strengthen the burgh ‘in case their old enemies of England addressed them to invade the same.’ In the 1472 Charter the magistrates were authorised to assess residents as well as non-residents according to the value of their rents, lands, annuals, and goods. On 24th May 1514 the new provost, Alexander, Lord Home, Great Chamberlain of Scotland, interposed his authority for payment of the assessment for the strengthening of the defences of the town and the furnishing of artillery ‘for the resisting of the auld innemeis of England.’ This proclamation also affords certain evidence of the great losses that had occurred among the contingent of burghers and craftsmen who had accompanied their unfortunate provost to Flodden field. It declares that ‘nane of the persones wedowis nor utheris’ refuse to pay their share of the assessment; while every widow is ‘to sustene sum, and sum twa or ma, conform to thair substance.’ All having ‘heidyard dykes’ are also ordered to build up the same within fifteen days under a penalty of £5 Scots. The proclamation is worthy of repetition:—

‘My lord principale provest hes interponit his ordinar jurisdictioun and authoritie, chargeand his president and baillies that thai incontinent ingather the extent maid upoun the nychtbouris of the toun for the strenthing of the saymn, and furnesing of artailyerie for the resisting of the auld innemeis of England, and that thai be nocht dis-

¹ Both Charters in City Archives; *Charters, etc.*, No. xxx. p. 70, and No. xlvii. p. 134.

obeyit be nane of the persones wedowis nor utheris that are taxt in the said extent ; and everie wedow sustene sum, and sum twa or ma conforme to thair substance, for the defence of the said toun, and that ilk person haifand heidyaird dykes that thai big up the samyn within XV dayis, under the payne till evreye ane of thame V li. to the kirk werk.'

The building of the wall must, therefore, have been carried out with vigour ; but a decree of 4th October further ordained that the 'heid dykis' and other walls of certain waste lands—unbuilt upon lands—in line with the wall should also be built up 'weill and competently of heicht and thiknes as efferis,' so that 'the towne be fermly closit about swa at thair be na entres bot at the ports of the samyn.' Ten days afterwards, the Treasurer was instructed to examine these 'heid dykis,' and to complete the work, where left undone, at the expense of the owners, who had been warned by the proclamation to 'mak thame sufficiently conformand to nychtbourheid.' An order was thereafter issued that entrance to the burgh was only to be made at the city ports or gates, 'under the payne of royal punishment of thair persoun, and banesing of this towne.' In the course of the following year, only the three ports—the West Port, the Netherbow, and the Kirk of Field, and na ma'—were permitted to be open during daytime. At each of these gates were attached two porters, who were to allow none to pass without a licence. This restriction in the number of the ports open during daylight was afterwards removed. On 3rd April 1516, the provost, David Mailvill, was convicted of building a house on the Burgh Muir, and ordained by the Council to apply 'the stuf of the biggit land' to the common walling of the town—a favourite expression in the records of the time. So, in the years 1516 and 1517, we find certain fines are ordered to 'be applyit to the commoun walling of the toun'; and in 1518 provision was made for the maintenance of a clear space of 12 feet on the inner, and 24 feet on the outer side of the wall. Practically, nothing further was done until the eve of the Reformation.



THE VENNEL.
THE THIRD CITY WALL (TELFER'S).

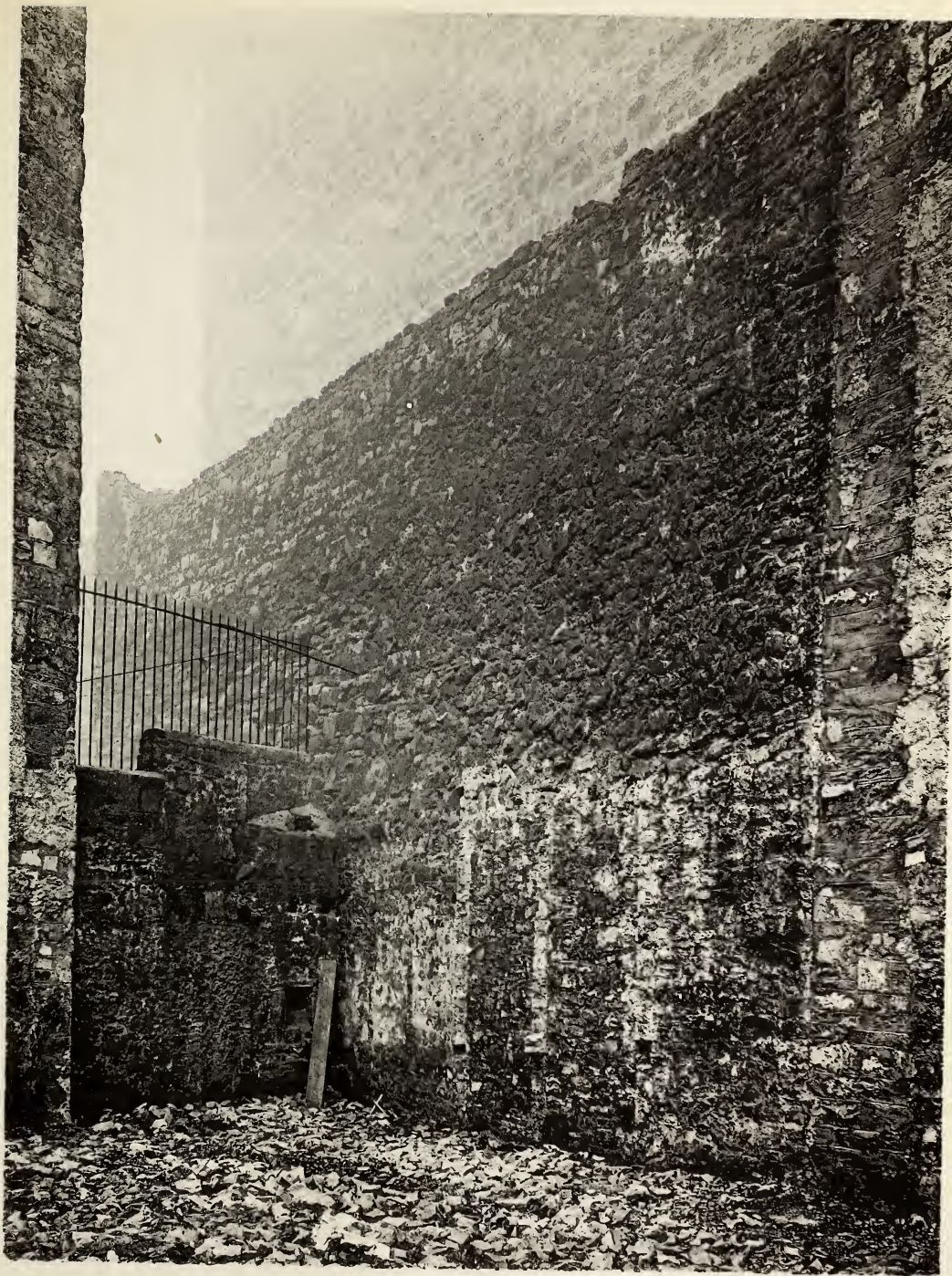
It is believed that the wall of the Black Friars Yard facing the Pleasance on the east, the south boundary wall of the grounds of the Kirk of Fields—including those of the provost's house and the cemetery—as well as the south and west boundary walls of the Grey Friars Yard, were all, during the years 1513 to 1515, strengthened and heightened so as to complete the line and become part of the Flodden Wall. The stones for the building of the wall were obtained from the quarries in the neighbourhood belonging to the Burgh, the earliest mentioned in the Records being those at Ravelston, and at a spot immediately outside the Grey Friars Port. The latter became disused through an influx of water as early as the year 1530, and it was in this quarry that, by order of the magistrates, several of the wretched women convicted of theft or of concealment of the then dreaded 'pest,' were drowned. There were several quarries on the Burgh Muir, including that at Bruntsfield Links, whence the stones used for the building of the tower and the adjacent portion of the wall in the Vennel were taken.

The general direction and line of the composite wall as originally erected is pretty well understood, and appears, with the exception of the part round the Greyfriars Cemetery, correctly depicted in Gordon of Rothiemay's map of 1647. Commencing at the eastern outer wall of the Castle, it ran down the hillside on the edge of a bed of sandstone, where it joins the basaltic rock on which the Castle is built, and crossed the Grassmarket at the western entrance to the city, where a gateway or port, known as the West Port, was erected. From this point it was continued up the lane now known as the Vennel, past the tower still standing—an interesting relic of the wall—whence it turned eastward, along the northern boundary of Heriot's Hospital grounds, until it joined the west wall of the present Greyfriars Churchyard, of which it also formed the western and southern boundaries. Continuing the line of the southern boundary of the Greyfriars, it passed

through the aperture, still visible, between Nos. 5 and 7 Forrest Road,¹ across the doorway of the United Free New North Church and the entrance to Bristo Street, where another gateway, known as the Greyfriars, the Society, and latterly as the Bristo Port,² was erected. It was at this point, on the road leading down to the Grey Friary—then known simply as the loaning—that the Princess Margaret of England, on 7th August 1503, made her formal entry into Edinburgh, seated on a palfrey of honour behind King James. The English herald has described the scene for us: ‘Ther war many honest People of the Town and of the Countre aboute, honestly arrayed, all on horsebak: and so, by Ordre, the King and the Qwene entred within the said Towne. At the entrynge of that same cam in Processyon the Grey Freres with the Crosse and sum Relicks, the which was presented by the Warden to the Kynge for to kisse, bot he wold not before the Qwene, and he had hys hed barre during the ceremonies.’ The Princess came to Edinburgh under the charge of the Earl of Surrey, and it was this same nobleman who, ten years later, by the strange irony of fate, commanded the English on the unhappy field of Flodden. From the Society Port the wall ran up the *cul-de-sac* at the south end of Lindsay Place—where a portion in which windows have been inserted can be seen—and behind, and to the east end of the Royal Scottish Museum, where another part has been recently uncovered by the demolition of some houses in Lothian Street. Over the lane between the Museum and the University buildings was the gateway known at first as the Kirk of Fields Port, and afterwards as the Potterrow Port. It led from the High Street of the village of Potterrow into the Horse Wynd, and was for long the principal entrance into Edinburgh from

¹ At the formation of Forrest Road a portion of the graveyard was taken off to form part of that road as well as of Greyfriars Place. See *plan attached to Act of 1827*.

² ‘The fundatioun and beilding of the howssis for aill and brewing, besyd the Greyfreir Port, callit the Societie, was begun in the year of God, 1598.’—*Historie and Life of King James the Sext*, Bann. Club, p. 374.



THE FLODDEN WALL.

PORTION, RECENTLY UNCOVERED, BEHIND ROYAL SCOTTISH MUSEUM.

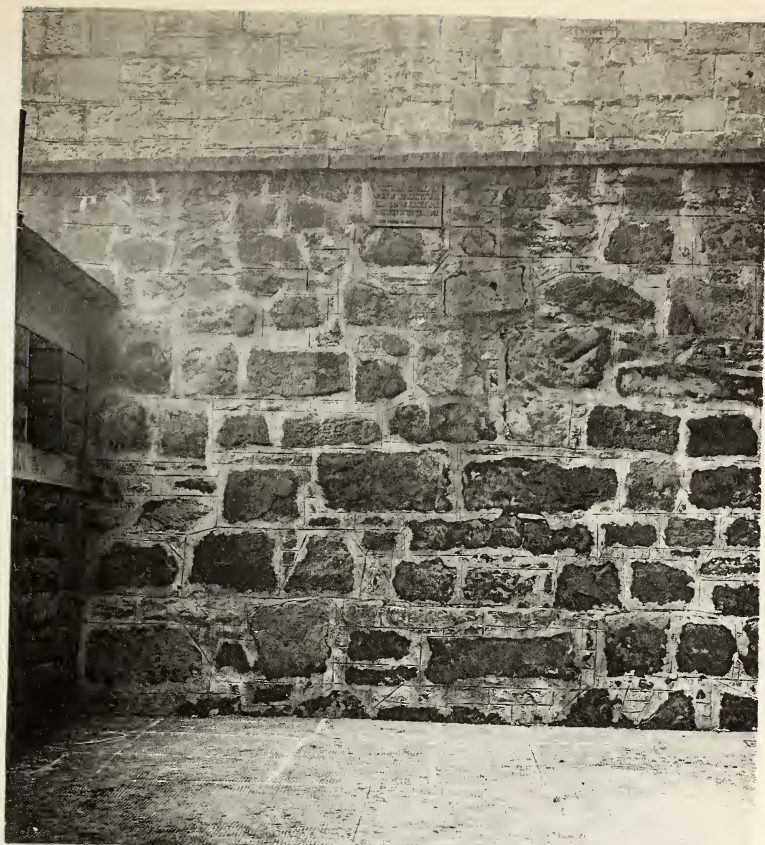
the south. From this port the wall followed the line of the University buildings south, and then eastward across the South Bridge, down to the foot of Drummond Street, whence it turned northward along the Pleasance until it joined the Cowgate, where another gateway, spoken of as the Black Friars, or the Cowgate Port, was placed. The eastern side of the town was undoubtedly the most vulnerable, seeing that it was from this direction that the attacks by the English were mainly to be apprehended ; but the city fathers at the Flodden period seemed to consider the houses forming the line from the Cowgate Port through St. Mary's Wynd and Leith Wynd, down to Trinity College Church, as affording sufficient protection for the time.

By the year 1557 the defective condition of the composite wall began to be seriously felt, and a long series of Acts were passed by the Council for its repair and renewal. To provide the necessary funds, the Council, on 29th December 1557, imposed a general tax of one shilling 'of ilk pund of yeirlye mail and annuall of the samin.' Lime was to be provided by 'the lyme men of Cousland' to the satisfaction of Sir William M'Dougall, Master of Works—the first mention of the employment of an architect in connection with the wall. In 1561 the eastern wall of the Black Friary, which had been one of those originally incorporated, required to be entirely rebuilt and made to join the tower at the foot of Drummond Street. The City Treasurer was ordered 'to put workmen to the doun taking of the Blackfreir walls and dykis, and gadir in all stansys of the samyn intromettit with be quhatsumevir persoun, and big the toun wall thairwith'; while, on 12th March, he was again authorised to 'caus begyn and big the town wall at the Blak freirs,' and, with the stones of their ruined church and buildings, to 'big up the said wall.' These friars possessed four yards, the first—known as the East Yard—being situated at the angle formed by the Pleasance and Drummond Street ; while the others—known respectively

as the Mid, the West, and 'Another West' Yard¹—stretched westward to a point opposite Roxburgh Place, then known as the 'Loaning.' It was here that the second tower was erected. In addition to the four yards, the friars had also a croft of three acres situated on the other, the south, side of the wall. It was conveyed in 1562, by Queen Mary, to John Gilbert, goldsmith in Edinburgh, and, in his charter,² it is described as bounded on the north by the city wall, on the south by the lands of Pleasance and Deiraneuch, and on the west by the loaning between the croft and the 'Theifraw.' The portion of the wall from the tower at the foot of Drummond Street westward was, therefore, built shortly after Flodden. During the next thirty years the work of renewal was diligently continued by the Council. The part of the wall between the Blackfriars and St. Mary's Port was rebuilt in 1567, and, in the same year, it was found necessary to rebuild the wall at the Kirk of Fields—probably the original boundary wall—which had become 'decayit and fallin down.' The Council, accordingly, gave instructions to rebuild it 'conforme to the heicht and thikness of the new wall *ellis biggit*,' and to continue it in line with the wall of the churchyard. Ten years later—on 30th April 1578—special instructions were issued to 'platforme the Kirk of Fields stepill, the blekhous at the Blakfreris and the Greyfreris, the Freir Port and West Port,' and to make a clear space of sixteen feet along the whole length of the inner side of the wall. The clear space of twenty-four feet, already referred to, had meanwhile been converted into roadways; and in the contemporary drawing of the murder of Darnley, the road from the Potterrow Port to the Pleasance appears as the 'Theif Raw.' This caustic

¹ Feu Charter by Magistrates of Edinburgh to Henry Stalker, 23rd February 1567-8. Orig. in Gen. Reg. Ho., Cal. of Ch. x. 2111.

² *Reg. Mag. Sig.*, xxv. p. 410. The description of the subjects has been taken, according to the usual practice, from some older deed not now extant.



THE FLODDEN WALL.
PORTIONS AT WEST END OF DRUMMOND STREET.

designation has since given place to the more euphonious names of College Street and Drummond Street. In the drawing, the 'Stepill' of the Kirk of Fields appears as a high square tower erected at the west end of the church, and admirably situated so as to command the approach from the Potterrow. The Blackfriars blockhouse was, of course, the tower at the foot of Drummond Street; while that of the Greyfriars must have been situated at the salient angle at the south-west corner of the old graveyard. There were, therefore, four towers in all placed along the line of the wall—the two in Drummond Street and that in the Vennel as shown in Gordon's map, and the fourth at the Greyfriars. In 1593 the defective condition of the city walls seems to have come under King James VI.'s notice—'his Majestie's awin lait observatioun'—and in an Act of Parliament for that year the magistrates were instructed to repair the ports and walls, and to make them sufficiently strong to 'resist and withstand the enemie without, as to apprehend and retene malefactoris within.'¹ In the Council Minutes for the years 1592-4, several notices accordingly appear relating to the carrying out of this duty. Nearly a century later, in June 1679, during the rising of the Covenanters in the west of Scotland, the Council issued a warrant to 'caus repair that part of the toun wall that is laitly broken down betwixt the Potterrow and the Society Ports.' This reconstructed portion of the wall is still nearly intact, and has been the subject of arrangement between the City and the Board of Works. Farther west, a large portion of the south boundary wall of the Greyfriars was reported in 1662 as having fallen down; but this portion of the Flodden Wall had, on the erection in 1620-36 of the Third or Telfer's Wall, entirely lost its military character.

In the eighteenth century the Flodden Wall was regarded mainly in the light of a mere fence, although Committees of

¹ *Acts of Parliament*, Thomson, iv. p. 31.

the Town Council continued to examine and report upon breaches as they occurred. On 15th July 1741 it was reported that a portion in Drummond Street, adjoining Principal Wischeart's garden, was in a dilapidated condition, and that 'at present it is no Fence.' The wall at this part and at a point farther westward was ordered to be repaired and heightened. Three years later the whole of the wall in Drummond Street down to the tower, then described as a round battery, was further heightened. This tower was afterwards removed and its site utilised as an addition to the street. In the same year, the 'Waiters' lodge' at Bristo Port was converted into a shop, and a new lodge erected to serve both that Port and the 'New Port,' leading by the Charity Workhouse to the Meadows—now Forrest Road. This Port is delineated in Edgar's map. It will be observed that the story of the Flodden Wall is one continuous tale of building and rebuilding, due to its mode of construction. It was simply a rubble wall, but the rough undressed stones—unlike the fragment of the first wall in West Princes Street Gardens—were not cemented with good lime mortar. The plan, also, of utilising ordinary yard and boundary walls, and of strengthening them by adding to their thickness and height, although a commendable expedient at the time, could never, under any circumstances, have produced satisfactory results.

Considerable doubt has always existed as to the course of the wall between Bristo Port and the northern boundary of Heriot's Hospital. The difficulty had its origin in a vague statement in Maitland's *History of Edinburgh*—a most meritorious work—that the wall, after bounding the grounds of Heriot's Hospital on the north, 'passeth through the Greyfriars Churchyard to Bristo Port'; and in this he was followed by Arnot, Kincaid, and other historians. Kincaid states that the wall 'ran eastwards along the north side of Heriot's garden, part of which is still remaining, and forms the north



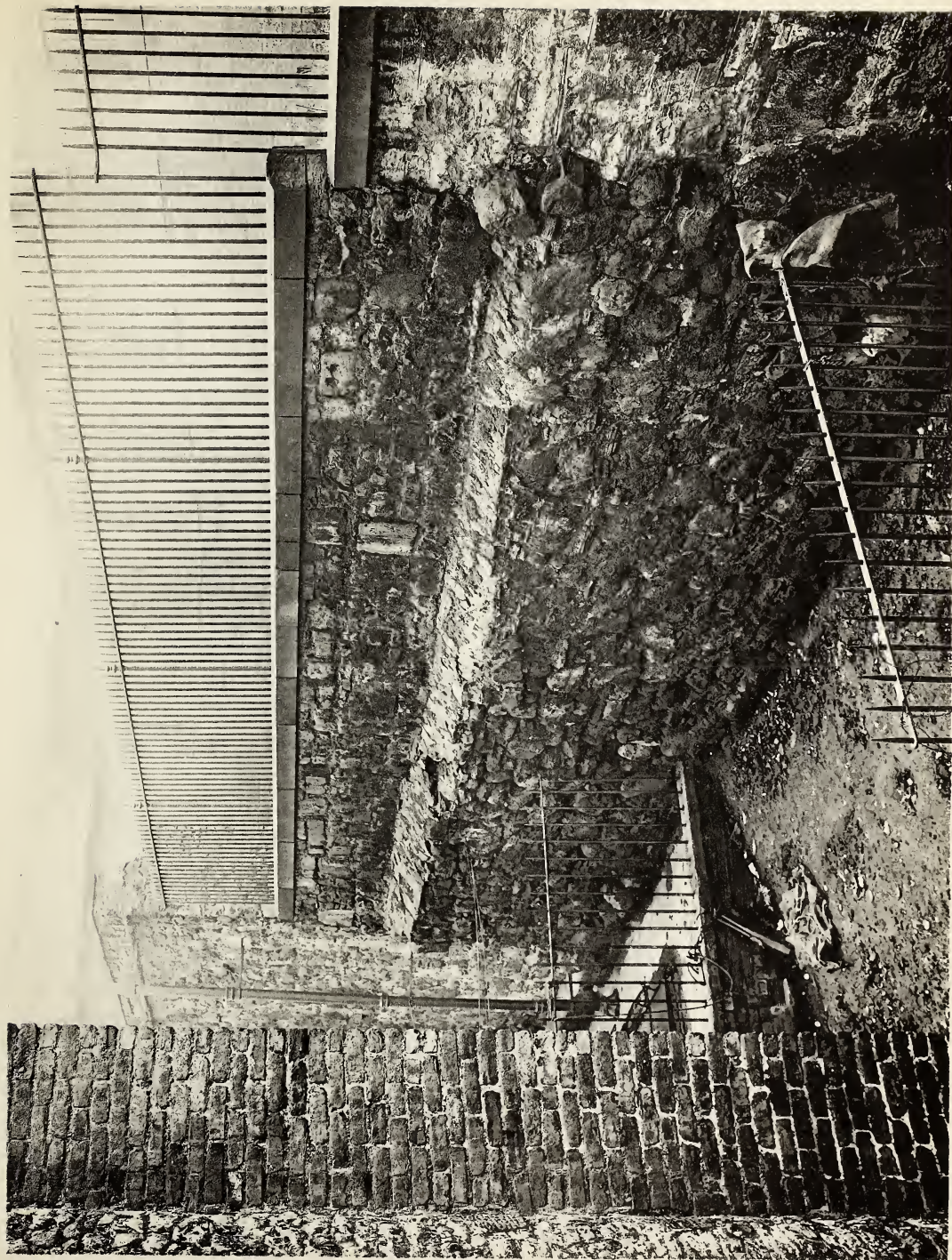
THE FLODDEN WALL.
VIEW FROM EAST END OF DRUMMOND STREET, SHOWING SITE OF TOWER.



wall of Heriot's garden till it meets the gardener's house, where the entrance to said hospital has obliterated it eastward of that till we pass the house known by the name of Friar-Shaws, an entrance to which is from the Greyfriars Churchyard. Here the traces of the wall begin again, directing its course eastwards till you come to the road through the cemetery ground leading to the church, where it is entirely lost, but from or near about this place it is very probable it took a south-east direction till it came to Bristo Port.' It may be stated here that the wall to which Kincaid refers, and traces of which were visible in his day, was not the Flodden Wall, but the north boundary wall of the 'Uppermost Yard' belonging to the Grey Friars of Observance, whose friary was situated at the foot of the graveyard, on a site now partly occupied by some of the houses behind the Grassmarket. This yard was utilised by them as pasture land; and, after the Reformation, it was leased by the magistrates to Bailie John Sym, on condition that the burghers were permitted to use it as a recreation ground, and to hold within it their wappinschaws or other meetings. The bailie, also, undertook to cause 'big and reparall the myd-dyke'—the wall above referred to—'now cassin downe and decayit siclyk as it was of befor, and of als greit heicht, betuix the buriall place and the said yeard.' This 'Uppermost Yard' comprised the southern portion of the present graveyard, including the site of the two churches known respectively as the Old and the New Greyfriars. Now, the magistrates purchased, in 1618, for the sum of 9000 merks, ten acres of the lands of Highriggs from the laird of Inverleith. These subjects extended from the present Vennel to Bristo Place, and in the title to the city they are described generally as bounded on the north by the Flodden Wall—'the Town Wall of the said burgh from the turn and west round of the said wall to the Society Port upon the north.' The Flodden Wall must, therefore, have bounded the grounds of the Grey Friars—

which were granted to the city in 1562 by Queen Mary, to be converted into a graveyard—on the south and west ; and the blockhouse or tower ‘at the Greyfreris,’ as mentioned in the Council Minutes of 1578, must have been situated at the salient angle. Another difficulty, however, still remains. On 6th February 1628 the magistrates conveyed eight and a half of their ten acres to the Governors of George Heriot’s Hospital, to be held in free blench for payment of one penny, when asked, and of a sum of 7650 merks by way of grassum. These subjects were rectangular in shape, and the Flodden Wall is, so far, correctly represented in Gordon’s map as the northern boundary from the Vennel until it joined the churchyard. Afterwards, for some reason unknown, the Governors feued off the north-east corner or gushet of their ground—a fact which had escaped Maitland’s observation. It became known as Friarschaws’ garden from the local designation of the feuar. His house stood at the south angle of the gushet, and had an entrance from the graveyard. Accordingly, the gushet, as it appears in Edgar’s map of 1742, has been treated by all our local historians as the original boundary of the Hospital grounds along which the wall ran. A complete alteration in the shape of the gushet, however, took place, when, under the Act of 1787, it was acquired by the city at the beginning of the last century to form an extension to the graveyard. All the titles—forty-three in number—are now in the City Chambers,¹ and in them the wall is described as the northern boundary ; while in one—that of Walter Spence of 1807—the wall also appears as the eastern boundary. Further proof, if such were necessary, is also to be found in the titles of the tenements abutting the wall on its north side. In the early half of the sixteenth century the tenement of one Katherine Dee is described as being bounded on the south by the wall and the foss or ditch of the friary—*et murum dicti burgi et fossam Fratrum Minorum respective ex australi . . . et dictam fossam*

¹ Box No. 9.



THE FLODDEN WALL.
PORTION BEHIND BUILDINGS ON WEST SIDE OF PLEASANCE.



*Fratrum Minorum ex orientali partibus.*¹ This tenement was, therefore, only divided from the site of that of Walter Spence by the wall ; and it was from this point that the wall turned southward to form the western boundary of the Friary grounds. The magistrates, however, soon became dissatisfied with the form and suitability of the gushet for the purposes of a graveyard, and, under a mutual agreement, dated 17th April 1791,² they exchambed the western portion, marked No. 1 on plan, for the plot marked No. 3 belonging to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital. This explains the form of the present western extension of the graveyard.

The portions of the wall forming the eastern and northern boundaries of the gushet were, in course of time, demolished by the feuars ; and in 1644 the magistrates granted permission to the Governors of Heriot's Hospital to take down another part farther west, for the purpose of making an entrance by Heriot's Bridge from the Grassmarket. From this point westward to the tower at the Vennel, the wall has remained in a more or less dilapidated condition, and has been a source of contention between the City and the Governors so recently as 1888-9 and 1906. The tower at the Vennel is the only survivor of the four with which the Flodden Wall is known to have been originally strengthened ; and it is surprising to find that a proposal for its demolition, as an obstruction to the street and a lurking-place for thieves, was made in 1829. The attempt was frustrated through the efforts of Lord Provost Walter Brown ; but the subsequent erection of George IV. Bridge and Victoria Street has deposed the Vennel from its then position of importance to that of a mere byway. Attention may be drawn to the present degraded condition of the tower, which has within recent years been incorporated with a school laundry. An ornate, but incongruous, window has been inserted in the southern face, and a legend inscribed

¹ MS. Protocol Books, City Chambers, William Stewart, 25th July 1566.

² Heriot's Hospital MS. Records.

over it narrates that this was done with the consent of the Town Council. Its utility had been of short duration, for the window is now boarded up. The shot-hole has been filled in, and another on the western side is utilised as a means of entrance for water- and gas-pipes; while nearly half of the northern side has been swept away to make room for an ugly doorway. By way of contrast, it may be noted that the adjacent portion of Telfer's Wall of 1620 has been put into an excellent state of preservation by the Governors of George Heriot's Hospital. The portion of the Flodden Wall from the tower down the slope of the Vennel to the Grassmarket, and thence upward to the Castle walls, entirely disappeared under the destructive hand of time during the latter end of the eighteenth and the early years of the nineteenth centuries. In 1902, on the erection of the two tenements forming Nos. 3 to 15 Pleasance, a portion of the Flodden Wall immediately behind was taken down and a new wall substituted in its place. An action in the Court ensued between the Magistrates and the proprietrix of the buildings (*Process in G.R.H.*). It may be mentioned that these two tenements occupy the site of the ancient Nunnery of St. Mary of Placentia.

As a contemporary memorial of valour and racial determination of character, the Flodden Wall has no equal in any other city in the kingdom; and it is, therefore, to the citizens of Edinburgh an historical document of supreme importance. Within recent years a large portion of the wall in Drummond Street—undoubtedly part of the original wall of 1513—has been wantonly sacrificed to the manes of modern utilitarianism; and it is to be hoped that the sections of the wall which still remain to us will now be jealously guarded from further desecration at the hands of our Civic Fathers. In this direction the influence of the members of the Old Edinburgh Club can be profitably utilised.

PORTIONS OF THE FLODDEN WALL STILL IN EXISTENCE

1. THE PLEASANCE. In 1902-3 a portion of the Flodden Wall was taken down during the erection—on the site of the Nunnery of St. Mary of Placentia—of the two tenements forming 3 to 15 Pleasance. [See Process in combined Action to which the Magistrates were parties.] With this exception the wall exists, in a more or less dilapidated condition, from the angle on the south to the house adjoining the old Heriot School on the north.
2. In DRUMMOND STREET, from the site of the old tower ‘D’ to the east end of the Infant School.
3. From WEST COLLEGE STREET to the *cul-de-sac* known as BRISTO PORT.
4. At or about the point marked ‘x’ in the western half of the northern boundary of HERIOT’S HOSPITAL [see plan]; and
5. The Tower in the VENNEL.

W. MOIR BRYCE.

THE COVENANTERS' PRISON IN THE INNER GREYFRIARS YARD, EDINBURGH

THE Greyfriars Churchyard of Edinburgh is inseparably connected with the story and sufferings of the Covenanters. It was in the church, now known as the Old Greyfriars, and in its churchyard that the Covenant was first signed on 28th February 1638. In this graveyard, also, repose the ashes of a large number of the heroes and martyrs who died—many of them after enduring the barbarous torture of the ‘boots’ or ‘thumbkins’—in its defence during the Episcopalian ascendancy; and here, in the fullness of time, their fierce and brutal persecutors found a last resting-place. Persecutor and persecuted, after life’s fitful fever, now sleep peacefully together under the same sod. In June 1679 the Covenanting prisoners taken at the battle of Bothwell Bridge were brought to Edinburgh, and interned in what was officially described as the Inner or South Greyfriar Yard, where they were kept practically without shelter of any kind, and almost without food or water, for a period of nearly five months. This incident, naturally, occupies a prominent position in the history of Presbyterianism for the period when it lay under the iron heel of the Episcopalian régime; and the following account is based upon the evidence furnished in the contemporary register of the *Decreta* and Miscellaneous Papers of the Privy Council,¹ the Record of

¹ The volume of the *Acta* of the Privy Council from 1678 to 1682 has been amissing for many years; but the leading, if not all the, *Acts* relating to the Covenanters have been printed or incorporated in Wodrow’s *Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*. In the *Athenæum* for 18th December 1909 an announcement appears that the original volume has turned up among the Harleian MSS. (MS. 4932) in the British Museum

the Justiciary Court, and the Registers of the Burgh of Edinburgh. The text has been illustrated with excerpts from these records—all hitherto unpublished—while others are to be found in the Appendix. It is to be remembered that after the Restoration the Privy Council practically usurped the whole powers of Parliament,¹ and that by the Act of 1661, c. 6, the appointment of members of that Council was declared to be included within the royal prerogative. In this way, by the year 1679, a minority section of the community, in the interest of their Episcopalian co-religionists, had been able to secure and retain for a period of over a quarter of a century, the entire reins of government. The domination of the Privy Council was at this period complete and arbitrary.

Tradition has persistently, but erroneously, identified the long narrow strip of ground—with its stone gateway ornamented with funereal decorations, and its iron gate—forming the southern extension of the old graveyard, as the place of imprisonment; and it is better, perhaps, at this point, to trace the history and define with some exactitude the area termed the 'Inner' or 'South Greyfriar Yard,' in which the Covenanters were imprisoned, as well as to explain the causes which led to its receiving this name.

As mentioned in a previous article on the Flodden Wall, the Town Council, for some unexplained reason, purchased in 1618, from Tours of Inverleith, ten acres of the lands of Highriggs, situated between the southern end of the Vennel on the west, and Bristo Place on the east. Although these subjects extend in reality to more than twelve acres imperial, it is clear from the boundaries given in the original convey-

Library, where it has lain unnoticed for nearly two centuries. The volume must have been taken out of the Laigh Parliament House, where, at that time, our National Records were deposited.

¹ This principle was first introduced by James VI. after his succession to the throne of England. His boast was that, by simply issuing his orders to his Privy Council, he could, sitting on his chair at Whitehall, rule Scotland with his pen, a feat which none had before his time been able to successfully accomplish with the sword.

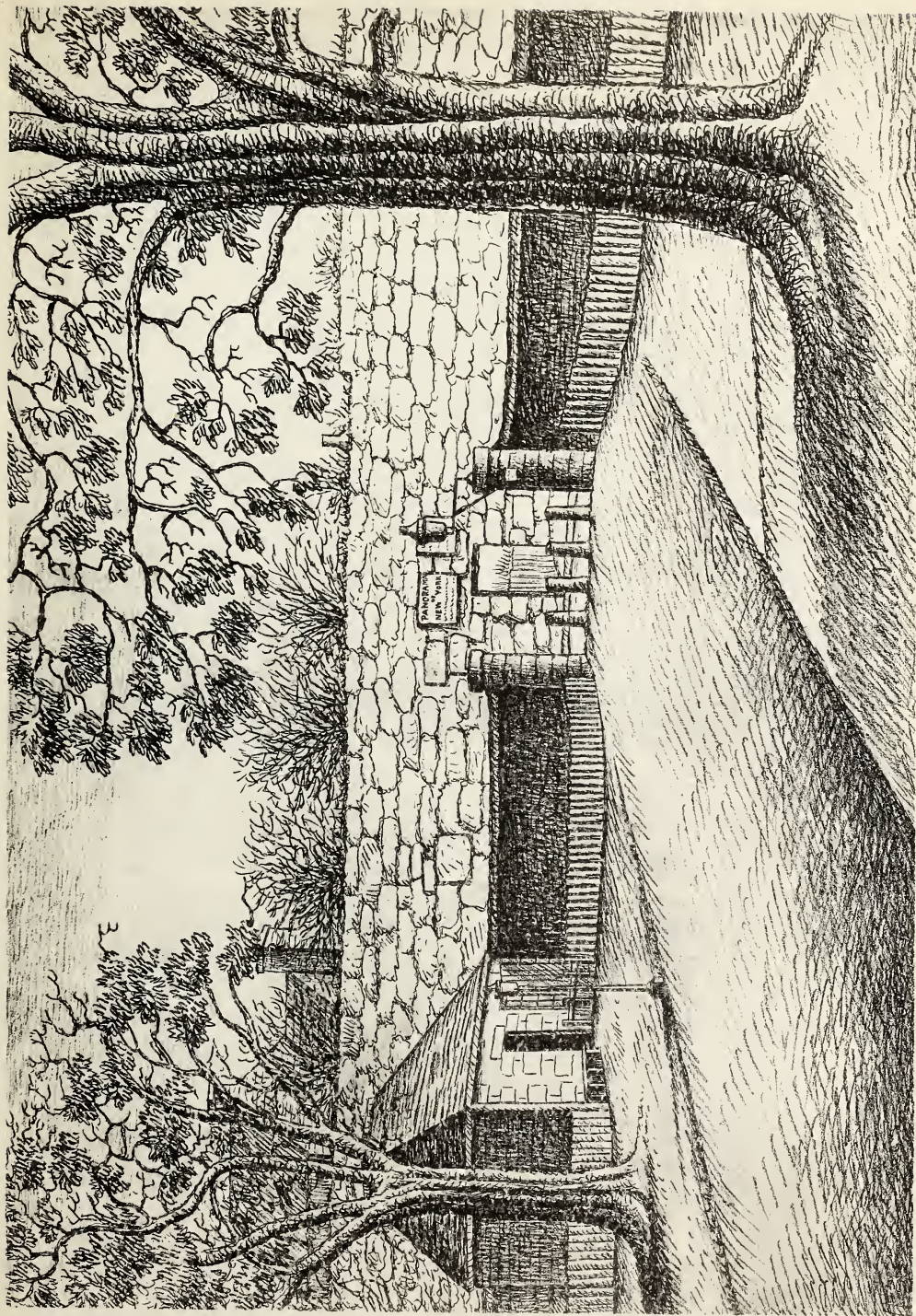
ance¹ that their identity is beyond dispute. On 20th November 1618 the Town Council instructed the Treasurer 'with all expedition' to build a wall round their new purchase, and this was *partially* done in 1620 at the expense of the corporation by their contractor, John Telfer. This wall has since been known as Telfer's or the third city wall. In 1628 the Council sold eight and a half acres of the so-called ten acres to Heriot's Hospital, including 'the wall or dyke upon the west and south side thereof,'² so that Telfer's Wall was then complete from the tower in the Vennel to the south-east angle of the grounds of Heriot's Hospital. The remaining portion of the wall from this point to Society Port was still unbuilt, although at this port operations for its erection had commenced. The dividing wall bounding the Hospital grounds on the east was erected in 1635 by the Hospital authorities.³ The portion of the 'ten' acres left in the hands of the Council, amounting to upwards of three acres, continued in an unwallled and unused condition until the year 1636, when, on 1st April, it was ordered to be enclosed as an addition to the burial yard with a town wall from the wall which had been commenced 'cloiss to the wester cheik' of the Society Port round about to the south-east angle of Heriot's Hospital:—'that pairt of the landis acquirit by the Guid Toun fra the Laird of Innerleith lyand on the eist syd of the wall qlk boundis in Herriotts Hospital, be inclosed with ane toun wall round about frae the toun wall alredie begun cloiss to the wester cheik of the Socetie Port, and that to be *ane augmentatioune* to the *burrall zaird*; and ordanis the south pairt of the ald (fallen) *doun* wall of the Gray [blank], and therefor ordanis Charles Hamiltoun, their Theasurer, to cause big about the same toun wall with all possibill diligence, and

¹ Disposition recorded in Books of Council and Session 20th August 1618. In these days land mensuration had not attained the dignity of an art, and measurements were largely a matter of guesswork.

² Heriot's Hospital Records, 25th May 1636.

³ *Ibid.*

provyde all materials necessar for the same ; and the expenses to be debursed thereupon sall be allowed to him in his compts.' In consequence of these instructions, this plot became known by the general name of the 'Greyfriars Yard,' or, to differentiate it from the old graveyard, the 'South,' 'Inner,' 'New,' or 'Back Greyfriars Yard.' It comprised the whole of the ground extending from the west side of Bristo Place on the east, to the boundary wall of Heriot's Hospital on the west ; and in the titles to all the properties on the west side of Bristo Place, both sides of Forrest Road, and the Drill Hall, the sites of the buildings are all, accordingly, defined as forming part of the Greyfriars Yard. In point of fact, no interments were ever made in any portion of this ground until the beginning of the eighteenth century, and it remained in the interval, and was leased by the city to tenants, as a grass park or yard. On occasion, in times of danger, it was also utilised as a drilling ground for the burghers. On 15th March 1639 the Council ordained the 'Dean of Guild to deliver arms to such persons as shall be brought to drill beside Heriot's Hospital'; and, at the same date, a proclamation was issued commanding the burghers to be in readiness to attend their colours in the 'Greyfriars Kirkyard in their best apparel and armour on 26th instant at 8 o'clock in the morning.' Then, on 10th May 1650, in anticipation of the Cromwellian campaign, all 'fensible' persons were ordered to meet in the Greyfriars Yard. From an entry of 23rd August 1662, it would even appear that a part of the ground had been utilised as a racing track for *noblemen* !—'Ye Counsell grants warrant to the Theasurer to cause cover the peice of ground in the Greyfriars Yard where the noblemen used to run.' On 11th June 1662, the Council agreed to set in tack to Heriot's Hospital for £100 Scots 'the grasse of the grayfrier yard, new and auld,' for eleven years, 'they bigging a stone wall betuix the New and Auld Kirkyaird, with a large doore in the midst yrof to be patent in tyme of driveling, weapon shewing, seiknes, or wyrwayis, and that they



THE THIRD CITY WALL (1636).
FORTION SHOWING GATE (MARKED P ON PLAN) OPPOSITE MIDDLE MEADOW WALK.

plant twa range of trees round about the walls and dykes, or to plant trees there as the Counsell sall appoynt ; and that they put no bestiall yrin to feid.' The Hospital records furnish no information regarding the object of this lease ; but, in the following November, the Council gave power to the Hospital to take down a partition wall in the Greyfriars Church, and to utilise the materials in the erection 'of a new wall to be built be them betuix the New and Auld Kirkyard in the Greyfriars upon the Hospital chairges.' Ten years later, the City Treasurer was instructed to repair 'ye dyk of the Inner Yaird of the Grayfreirs'—evidently the same wall—and against it, on the north side, large funereal monuments began to be erected. No large door was, therefore, inserted at this period. Other tenants succeeded the Hospital in leasing the ground, and in 1678 it was let to Arthur Udney :—'Item, with ane hundred pounds for ye Gray frier back yaird sett to Arthour Vdney.'¹ During the years 1679 and 1680, it was set to the Treasurer himself :—'Item, the comptur chargeth himself with ye duty of ye Gray frier back yaird sett to himself, 100 lb.'² He was discharged, however, from payment for the year 1679, during the summer of which he was denied the occupancy of the yard.

The Inner Greyfriar Yard in which the Covenanting prisoners were interned on 24th June 1679, was, therefore, simply a grass park of over three acres surrounded on every side by high walls. The wall of 1636 began at Society Port, and ran along the line of the present gutter on the west side of Bristo Place to a point about twenty feet beyond Teviot Row, and thence it turned westward along the front of Teviot Row and across the Forrest Road, until it joined the boundary wall of Heriot's Hospital, which, in turn, formed the western boundary. The south wall of the old graveyard—once part of the Flodden Wall—bounded the enclosure on the north, and extended from

¹ City Treasurer's MS. Accounts.

² *Ibid.*

Heriot's Wall on the west to the Society Port, where, at this angle, the doorway, as marked in both Gordon's and Edgar's maps, was placed. A glance at the map of the present day will show that the site of what was the Inner Greyfriars Yard now comprises the *solum* of the west side of Bristo Place, the north side of Teviot Row, the roadway and both sides of Forrest Road, the Drill Hall, and the southern extension of the graveyard popularly known as the 'Covenanters' Prison.' In Gordon's map the yard appears as an unoccupied space, and, after the year 1679, it continued to be leased under the name of the *Grassyard* by the Town Council until the year 1703, when a lunatic asylum for paupers, afterwards known as Bedlam, was erected on the eastern section of the ground. It was to this asylum that Fergusson, our unfortunate Edinburgh poet, was, greatly to his grief, taken shortly before his death, and it was over his grave in the Canongate Churchyard that Burns erected a memorial stone. In the same year, a strip of the western end of the Grassyard was given off by the Council to form the southern extension of the old graveyard—the ground miscalled the 'Covenanters' Prison.' The proposal was first mooted in March 1699, when a committee of the Council was appointed to 'visit the grassyard, and report their opinion anent the dyke that is to be built,' and, on 20th August 1703, it was enacted that 'considering the great number of the dead buried in Grayfrier Churchyard, and that it is proper and convenient to enlarge the said yaird for burying of the dead. Therefore they allow and grant warrant to the present Kirk Theasurer to found and build a wall within the New Grayfriars upon the west side thereof, forty eight foots distance from the easter wall of the yaird dyke belonging to George Heriot's Hospitall, and to carrie the same straight from the transing wall which divides the old and new Grayfriars upon the north to the toun wall upon the south, and that for the greater accomodation of the neighbours, to bury their dead, who are hereby allowed to make purchases

of ground for that end not exceeding fourteen feet in length and eight foot in breadth upon terms and conditions with the Councill and the said Kirk Theasurer as shall be best agreed upon.' The wall was accordingly built, and the present stone gateway, with its iron gate, erected out of the funds collected by the Kirk Treasurer for the use of the poor, and known as the 'poor stock.' On 4th October 1704, an ex-provost, Sir Hugh Cunningham of Craigend, received from the Council the right of burial and of erecting a funereal monument, and in the minute it is expressly stated that Sir Hugh was 'the first that hath applyed for a buriall place in the said ground,' and that 'the charges of the enclosure' had been paid for by the Kirk Treasurer out of the 'poor stock':—

'4th October 1704.

'The Council, considering that Sir Hugh Cuningham of Craigend, late Lord Provost of Edinburgh, hath earnestlie desyred the Counsell to grant him the benefit of ane propertie for ane burriall place within the new inclosed ground upon the south side of the Grayfriars yeard, and offered a voluntar gratificatione to the Kirk Theasurer for the use of the poor, and that befor he shall burie and build any monument thereon; And the Counsell, considering that George Louthian, late Kirk Theasurer, out of the poor stock had payed the charges of the inclosour, and as yett the Counsell had not made any regulaciones anent burring therein, and that the said Sir Hugh Cunnyham is the first that hath applyed for a burriall place in the said ground, They grant the desyre and appoynts the deane of gild and his counsell to give Jedge and warrand for the same in any pairt therein where the said Sir Hugh Cunninghame shall make choyse; which warrand is hereby declared to be a sufficient right to the said burriall place.'

Having now identified the area known as the Inner Greyfriars Yard, in which the prisoners were confined, and shown that the site of the narrow strip of ground, traditionally known as the Covenanters' Prison, really only formed a portion thereof, we return to the story of their sufferings.

The summer of the year 1679 was ushered in by the murder, on 3rd May, of Archbishop Sharp on Magus Moor,

near St. Andrews, and when the news of Claverhouse's reverse at Drumclog reached Edinburgh, the authorities were roused into definite action. The walls of the Castle were strengthened by Robert Mylne, the royal 'Master Maison'; while the magistrates, at the same time, issued orders to put the city walls in a proper state of repair, and to obtain cannon for the protection of the burgh. On 9th June the militia regiment of Edinburgh, along with the whole of the trained bands 'within this City, Leith, Canogait, West Port, Potterraw, and other suburbs of the good toun, without any exception (*except the present Magistrates*)' were instructed to be in readiness under their respective captains at 'first touke of drum' to march to Leith Links; and on the 13th, to the number of 4000, they took the oath of allegiance. Three days later the militia regiment received its final orders to join the King's forces, whereupon the Council advanced ten days' pay for its support. On the 20th the regiment was still in Edinburgh, as there is a notice of that date for the baking of 917 loaves for the 'good touns Militia.' The arrangements and preparations for the military expedition for the suppression of the rebellion betray the difference between the old feudal system of conducting warfare, and the modern, then in its infancy. The unfortunate Slezer, 'His Majestys engineer' and author of the *Theatrum Scotiæ*,¹ furnished a train of artillery; while James Somervail acted as a capable commissariat officer in obtaining and distributing food and other requirements of the army. The account for 'horses and carts *pressed* by the Magistrates of Edinburgh for His Majesty's service at Bothwell Bridge' possesses several features of interest. The incorporation of Carters of Leith furnished some of the necessary carts and horses; but many in Edinburgh, Leith, and elsewhere, were forcibly pressed by

¹ A work now much appreciated, but which involved Slezer in financial ruin, including a residence for many years within the uncomfortable precincts of the sanctuary at Holyrood.

Somervail under the ægis of the magistrates into the service. The Commissary speaks with apparent sympathy of the 'poor peoples daily troubling of the Magistrates,' and of the 'poor breuars, both in toune, Leith, and the shyre,' who had their horses and carts taken; but he himself had no compunction in cutting down their claims for compensation. Three surgeons—Dr. Irving, William Borthwick, and John Hall—were attached to the forces, and a sum of £720 Scots was allowed them for medical requirements. The intelligence department employed men, who, suitably disguised, rode out 'every night and day,' and kept the army in touch with the rebels; the leading spy being a William Fraser, 'who made some discoverie of the rebellion,' for which he received the sum of £240 Scots. The militia regiments were hurried up. To each of the rank and file of the two commanded respectively by the Earls of Linlithgow and Mar, numbering 1710 men, a gratuity of thirty shillings was paid on the 12th of June as an inducement to increased exertion; while a sum of £480 Scots was granted towards the billeting expenses of the Midlothian and Forfar regiments. The times were critical, and there was a fall in the value of the current coin. On the sum of £1500 sterling lying in the military chest in the Castle, a loss by depreciation of over £250 Scots is duly noted in the accounts.

The battle of Bothwell Bridge took place on the 22nd of June 1679, and the Duke of Monmouth, who commanded, at once sent off intelligence of the event to the Privy Council in Edinburgh. Unfortunately for himself, the 'Keeper of the Letter Office in Edinburgh' had also become acquainted with the facts, which he had sent off by flying packet to the 'Post Master of England,' who, in turn, communicated the news to King Charles. Lauderdale, the Scottish Secretary in London, was much mortified at being thus forestalled as the bearer of the earliest information to His Majesty, and the unfortunate man of letters was brought before the bar of the

Privy Council and committed to the Tolbooth, 'untill their further pleasure,' in return for his unappreciated excess of zeal. In Edinburgh the news was received with rejoicing, says an official contemporary ;¹ 'the streets are full of bonfires, the bells rung, and the cannon are discharged, with other publick demonstrations of joy.' The bonfires cost the city the sum of £46.² On the day of the battle, the Edinburgh militia regiment, under the command of Sir John Nicolson, is reported as quartered at Corstorphine, and as sending off thirty men as escort to a convoy of provisions and ammunition to the army in the west. In their absence, the prisoners taken at the battle, to the number of between eleven and twelve hundred, were handed over on Hamilton Moor to the care of Archibald Cockburn of Langtoun, Colonel of the Berwickshire Regiment of Militia, with instructions to escort them to Edinburgh, and to hand them over on arrival to the custody of the magistrates, who 'have undertaken to secure them with the Town Guards.' Colonel Cockburn's force consisted of two militia regiments and Captain Strachan's troop of dragoons.³ After a weary journey, the prisoners reached Edinburgh on the evening of the 24th of June, when they were handed over by Colonel Cockburn to the magistrates, who incarcerated them, in terms of instructions from the Privy Council, in the Inner Greyfriars Yard, described as an enclosure, with high walls round it, at the back of the Greyfriars Church.⁴ The letter of instructions is sufficiently significant of the treatment accorded to the prisoners to be repeated here.⁵ The Council 'give Orders to the Magistrates of Edinburgh to receive the Prisoners taken at the late fight from the commanding officer, and recommend them to their Custody ; and that for that end they put them into the inner Grayfriars Churchyard, with convenient Guards to wait upon

¹ *London Gazette*.

³ *London Gazette*.

² Treasurer's Accounts.

⁴ *Ibid*.

⁵ *Acta, P. C.*

them, who are to have at least twenty four Centries in the Night Time, and Eight in the Day Time ; of which Centries the Officers shall keep a particular List, that if any of the Prisoners escape, the Centries may assure themselves to cast the Dice, and answer Body for Body for the Fugitives, without any Exception ; and the Officers are to answer for the Centries, and the Town of Edinburgh for the Officers. And, if any of the Prisoners escape, the Council will require a particular Account, and make them answerable for them.' On the following day, an Order¹ by the Council was published by beat of drum throughout the town, forbidding any of the citizens to approach the Greyfriars Yard, except those who brought charitable gifts of meat and drink for the prisoners. The contributions were to be delivered up at the gate, and divided equally among the prisoners by persons appointed for that purpose. Accordingly, in the Army Accounts² there is a payment noted of the sum of £172 Scots for 'two men for carieing and destributeing the prisoners' bread, and for ane other man overseeing the same done, from the 25th of June to the 15th of November.' The daily food supplied by order of a benevolent and professedly religious Privy Council, carried and distributed by these men to the prisoners, cannot be said to have erred on the side of superfluity. The facts can be ascertained from Somervail's detailed accounts, from which it will be seen that each prisoner was only allowed *one penny loaf per day*. The City Fathers, who, no doubt, owed their position to those then in power, contributed nothing. The only analogous entry noted in the Town Council records for this date is that of 10th September:—'The said day, appoints the toun thesaurer to furnish coall and candle for the guaird that attends the prisoners in the Grayfrier yeard, and doe approve of the Inbringing of the watter to the said prisoners ; and exoners him of the tack dewty³ of the

¹ *Acta*, P. C.

² Appendix, p. 113.

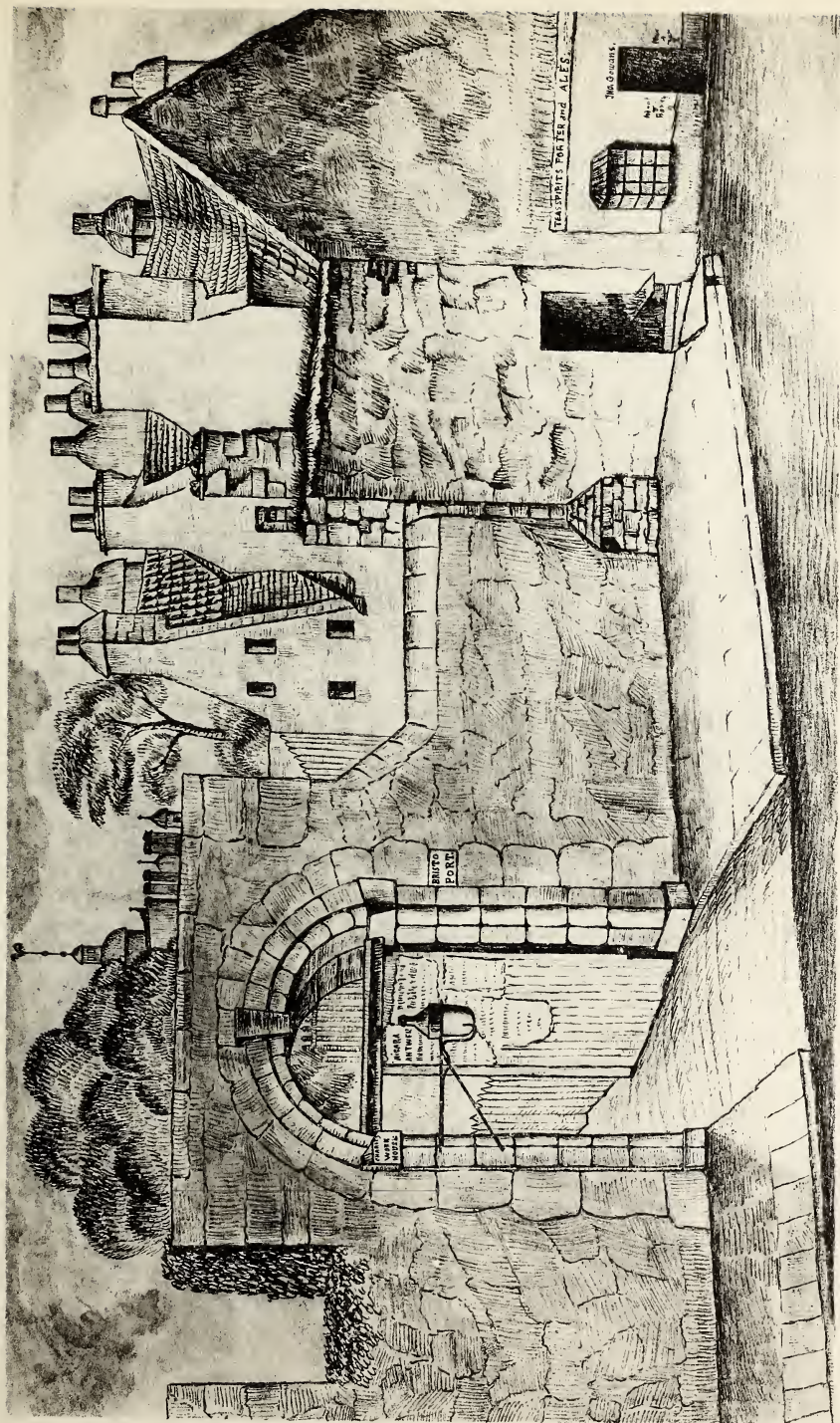
³ As previously mentioned, the Treasurer was lessee of the Greyfriars yard for this year.

said year'; and the corresponding entries in the City Treasurer's accounts show that he 'peyd for coall and candls furnished to ye guards in ye grass-yard £150,' and for the 'expenses in putting in the pype to the prisoners in the grass-yaird, p. receipt £75, 16s.' The magistrates, therefore, on the approach of the cold weather, made due provision for the comfort of the military guard, and only at that date provided a proper supply of water to their unfortunate prisoners. It will be noticed, also, from Somervail's accounts that, on 1st July, there were no fewer than 1184 prisoners in 'ye Greyfreirs and Heriots Hospitall.' Although no confirmation can be found in the Hospital or City records, it is evident from this entry that the wounded were taken to the Hospital, where they would be attended to by the surgeons sent by the magistrates under instructions from the Privy Council.¹ The accounts in question are also of value, as they furnish a daily return down to the 15th November of the number of persons actually imprisoned in the Greyfriars.

On the 25th June, Dalziel reported to the Privy Council that the rebels were now dispersed, and that he had ordered all the militia regiments to return to their respective homes. On the same date, we find the City Treasurer instructed to advance the pay of the Edinburgh regiment 'from tyme to tyme till the said regiment return'; but, shortly thereafter, these militiamen relieved the Town Guards of their care of the unhappy prisoners in the Greyfriars. The entrance gate to the prison yard was at the angle near the Society Port, and it would be at this point that the militia established their 'main guard.' On the 29th came the King's letter to the Privy Council,² signed by Lauderdale, granting warrant for the trial of the prisoners, 'and that you put them to the torture if they refuse to inform in what you have pregnant presumptions to believe they know. When this is done, We do, in the next place, approve *the motion made by you* of sending

¹ *Acta*, P. C.

² *Ibid.*



THE FLODDEN WALL.

THE 'NEW PORT' LEADING THROUGH THE CHARITY WORKHOUSE GROUNDS, MARKED H ON PLAN.

three or four hundred of these prisoners to the Plantations, for which We authorise you to grant a warrant in order to their Transportation.' It is apparent that the proposal to banish many of the prisoners as white slaves to the Plantations—if not also to make use of torture—originated in a suggestion by the Privy Council in Edinburgh; and it is impossible to doubt that the action taken under the arbitrary powers in this letter was one of the leading factors which brought about the Revolution of 1688. The rejoicings for the victory were revived on the return of the Duke of Monmouth and his officers to Edinburgh; and, on 2nd July, the Town Council agreed that they should 'be complimented with ane treat,' and made burgesses and guild brethren of the city. The expense of the 'treat' amounted to £3709 Scots, and that of the gold box to hold Monmouth's ticket and the accompanying chain, to the sum of £140. During his residence at Holyrood, Monmouth attended several meetings of the Privy Council, and under his pacific influence it was decided to offer liberty to the majority of the prisoners upon their signing a bond undertaking not to again take up arms against His Majesty. On the 4th of July the Privy Council issued an order¹ to this effect, but specially excepting from its humane provisions the 'Ministers, Heritors, and Ringleaders,' who were to be prosecuted and banished to the Plantations, 'to the number of three or four hundred, conform to the list brought in by the Committee, and to be approven by the Council.' Several hundreds of the prisoners must have taken advantage of the provisions of this Act, and thereby obtained their liberty; because, in Somervail's accounts, we find that within a week from this date the number of men noted as confined in the Greyfriars is reduced from 1184 to a total of 338. On the 11th of July the Edinburgh Militia were withdrawn from further guardianship of the prisoners, and replaced by the military; but the magistrates were, at the

¹ *Acta*, P. C.

same time, taken bound to furnish that grim old warrior, General Dalziel, with a list of the prisoners' names, and also to give a guarantee that none should escape in the interval. Unfortunately, no trace of this list can be found, either at the City Chambers or the Register House. Dalziel was also instructed to bring in the other Covenanting prisoners detained in the Castle of Stirling, and in Linlithgow and Glasgow. Somervail's accounts show that some of those from Stirling were still suffering from their wounds, and that on 16th July the numbers in the Greyfriars had increased to 380. In the *Decreta* there is noted a meeting on 22nd July of the Privy Council, at which two warrants were issued to Dalziel to set 'at liberty furth off the prison in the Grayfriar yard' the following, who have 'inacted themselves that they shall not rise in armes without or against His Majesty or his authority':—

George Arnot in Arlarie,
 Andrew Danniell in Codziam,
 Alexander Barclay in Blair,
 James Grieve in Mahill,
 Robert Bird in Links of Kirkcaldie,
 John Lyndsay, servant to Isabell Hall,
 George Neiving in Pitqwhonartie,
 Francis Wallace in Whytehill,
 John Martine in Pittendreich,
 John Gedd there,
 George Marshall in Balwairdmylne,
 James Marshall in Newforgane,
 John Gibb in Pittendreich,
 James Willson in Balgeddie,
 John Bennet in Leslie,
 James Smyth, grieve to the Laird of Lundie, and now servant
 to the Earle of Argyle,
 George Stobbie in Meiklecairnie,
 Robert Hamiltone of Ardrie,
 John Glasse, his servant,
 William Young in Seamore,

William Smyth, workeman in Glasgow,
William Young at Evandale,
John Lyndsay, servant to Archibald Lindsay in Kilbryde,
John Meikle in Evandaleboune,
John Balmamoon in Glasgow,
George Weir in Carmichaell,
William Millar in Barrony of Glasgow,
William Picat in Bridge-end of Glasgow,
Thomas Wylie, tennent to the Earle of Lowdown,
Robert Willson in Douglas,
George Draphan in Lesmahago,
William Syme in Leny,
Robert Wallace in Phunuch,
George Rutherfoord in Ancrum,
Andrew Snodgrasse in Bridgeend of Glasgow,
Andrew Mitchell,
Alexander Findlay in Kilmarnock,
Andrew Foulis in Stewartoun,
James Young in Stewartoun,
Patrick Gilchrist in Kippen,
William McCulloch in Dalie,
Thomas Oliver in Jedburgh forrest,
William Younger in Bathgate,
David Curry,
John Givan, tayllour in Neilstoun.

Two only of the bonds signed by the prisoners are now preserved among the miscellaneous papers of the Privy Council. The first, dated 22nd July, bears the signatures of

John Park, Weaver in Lanerk,
Franceis Hastie there,
Bartholomow Eistoun there,
John Williamsone in Douglas,
Robert Grahame there,
Joseph Thomson there,
William Inglis there,
James Wood in Lanerk,
William Lindsay there.

The second, dated 24th September, is signed by 'John Balmanno, sone to David Balmanno at the Bridge-end of Kilmarnock, and Robert Ewart, both servitors to Jon Balmanno, Candlemaker in Glasgow.' In the beginning of August the number of prisoners detained in the Greyfriars was reduced to 280; and on the forenoon of the 14th, a letter, dated 27th July, by King Charles, known as an 'Act of Indemnity,' was publicly proclaimed at the Cross of Edinburgh in presence of the magistrates. Under this Act a discharge was granted to all, with the exception of the ministers, heritors, and ringleaders, who had taken part in the rebellion. In the afternoon the two unfortunates, John Kid—who had been one of the prisoners in the Greyfriars, and had suffered the barbarous torture of the 'boots'—and John King, were publicly executed; and in the evening the magistrates celebrated the occasion by the lighting of bonfires in the streets, at a cost to the city of £34. The magistrates also paid the sum of £20, 6s.¹ as the expenses of the executions. The studied dramatic arrangement of the occurrences on this day—the tragedy of the executions sandwiched between the (delayed) proclamation and the public rejoicings in its celebration—has been the subject of much unfavourable comment; and one is lost in wonder at the pitiful spirit that animated the members of the Privy Council and their Episcopalian adherents on this occasion.

In the month of August a third movement, specially intended as an act of vengeance for the murder of Archbishop Sharp, began to take shape. It was evidently inspired from ecclesiastical sources, and first appears in a letter, dated 26th July, from the King, in which, after expressing his detestation of the murder, 'and being desirous to vindicate that innocent Blood, and shew his Detestation of the Murder,' he commands the Privy Council to proceed criminally against nine of the prisoners who had taken part in the rebellion,

¹ Treasurer's Accounts.

‘with this additional consideration of having *owned these Murderers.*’ The letter then proceeds to order the execution of the nine ‘merely upon that account’; they, ‘being convicted, are to be hanged in Chains upon the Place where the horrid Murder was committed.’ Now, it was known to the Privy Council that there were many among the prisoners who obstinately refused to recognise the rising as a rebellion, or the slaughter of the Archbishop as a murder; and it was from amongst these, who had no connection with the crime—beyond airing their own opinions—that the victims of this third form of punishment were intended to be selected. A list of thirty of those detained in the Greyfriars was accordingly sent up to London, and on the 15th of August instructions were received by the Council to proceed criminally against the following :—

James Lileburn in Kinross,
David Hardie in Lesly,
Robert Bogie in Newbigging,
John Richardson in Stenhouse,
Robert McGill Webster in Gallowshiels,
David Somerwel in East Calder,
Alexander Steven in Bothwel Parish,
Thomas Williamson in Over-cranstoun,
John Scot in Ettrick Forest,
William Cameron in Dalmellingtoun,
Robert Miller in Waterford,
James Wood in the Parish of Newmills,
John Govan in Kirklistoun Parish,
Thomas Pringle in Stow Parish,
Andrew Sword in the Parish of Borg in the Stewartry of Kirk-
cudbright,
James Gray in West Calder,
John Thomson in the Parish of Shots,
John Waddell in the Parish of Shots,
Patrick Keir in the Parish of Kincardin,
Thomas Brown in Edinburgh,
William Anderson in Livingstone Parish.

Meanwhile, many of the ministers in Edinburgh had urged the prisoners to accept the terms of indemnity offered, and obtain their liberty by appending their signatures to the bond ; while another section as stoutly maintained that it was sinful to do so. A strong divergence of opinion—echoing the dissensions that had such disastrous consequences at Bothwell Bridge—arose among the prisoners ; but many undoubtedly did sign the bond. In August, fifteen of the recusants were marched down to the Tolbooth, and the numbers left in the Greyfriars in this way became reduced. There were only 240 prisoners left on the 20th August, and on 14th October the number was further reduced to 230 ; while between the 1st and 14th November only 215 of the prisoners remained. During the last week of October a few wooden huts, insufficient, however, to afford shelter to all the unfortunates, were erected ; and we may fairly conclude, in the absence of any notice in the records of the Privy Council or of the Burgh, that these were generously provided by friends in the city. But the crisis in their fate was rapidly approaching.

On 22nd August the following nine were ‘Indyted and accused for the crymes of treason and Rebellion in June last, in joyning with the Rebels at Bothwellbridge, and continuing in rebellion with them till they were defate’¹:—

William Retchardson in Stenhouse,
Thomas Brown, Shoemaker in Edinburgh,
James Balfour in Gilstoun,
Alexander Balfour, Tennent there,
Thomas Williamson in Over Waristoun,
Robert McGill, Wobster in Gallosheills,
Robert Miller in Watterfoot,
James Paton in Inverkeithing,
Andrew Thomson in Sauchie.

¹ MS. Records of Justiciary.

These nine were charged before the Lords of Justiciary as the 'cheiff officars, because they hade in ane oppin assemblie declaired (uplifting ther hands) that these heads had murdered the Arch Bishop of St. Andrews, and did by these ther officers condemne and execut those who had served his majestie and parlit.'¹ Their trial was delayed from time to time until the 10th November, when thirty-three, including the nine above recited, of the prisoners in the Tolbooth, the majority of whom had been transferred thither from the Greyfriars, were brought before the Justiciary Court.² Their names are :—

James Findley in the balyrie of Cuninghame,
 James Lilburne in Kinrossie,
 Wm. McKinn in Galloway,
 Andrew Newbigging in the Merse,
 Robert McGill in Gallosheills,
 Thomas Brown in Edinburgh,
 John Weddall in Llidesdale,
 John Thomson in Bothwellmuir,
 David Hardie in Fyff,
 Andrew Sword in Galloway,
 Wm. Henryson in Linlithgow Shyre,
 James Wood in Aire,
 Adam Allan ther,
 Robert Kirk, cottar in Burghlie,
 Wm. Grindlay in Monkland,
 Robert Young in Gallowsheills,
 Thomas Crightoun in Carnwath Parroch,
 James Carsell in Malmaghie,
 Patrick Wilson in Lewingstoun,
 William Younger ther,
 William Hardie in Kelso,
 Retchard Thomson in Shotts,
 John Cleyd in Kilbryd,
 Robert Russell in Shotts,
 John McBraickney in Kirkcudbright,

¹ MS. Records of Justiciary.

² *Ibid.*

William Brown in Kilmarnock,
 William Ritchardson in Stenhouse,
 James Balfour in Gilstoun,
 Alexr. Balfour, tennent ther,
 Thomas Williamson in Nether Cranstoun,
 Robert Millar in Watterfoot,
 James Patton in Inverkeithin,
 Andrew Thomson in Sauchie.

All these had repeatedly refused to accept the terms offered—as the indictment states, ‘by another unparalleled instance of His Majesties unwearied goodness’¹—not to take up arms again. Of this number six were committed for trial—Andrew Sword, Thomas Brown, James Wood, John Weddall, David Hardie, and John Cleyd. Their declarations,² or ‘confessions,’ as they were termed, were used against them by the Lord Advocate as the only adminicle of proof:—

‘Thomas Brown in Edinburgh, confesses he wer taken prisoner at Bothwelbridge with these were defate then and caryed a sword and declaired he hes not freedome to give bond never to ryse in armes against the King and his autoritie. He declaires the above wrytten confession to be true, but obstinatlie refuses to subscriyve the same tho he cane wreitt.’

‘John Weddall, prisoner, confesses he wes taken prisoner with these were defate at Bothwellbridge. He will not call them rebels, nor will he give bond never to ryse in armes against the King or his autoritie. He confesses he caryd a small sword & declaires he cannot wreitt.’

‘David Hardie confesses he wes taken prisoner at the muir beyond Culrosse by the Clerk of Dumblane, & that he hade no armes. He refuses to give bond, &c.’

‘Andrew Sword confesses he wes taken prisoner at Hamilton with those wer defate ther. Declares he caryed a sword, but will not call it a Rebellion he wes in, nor will he give bond never to ryse in armes against the King. Confesses that this is truth, but refuses to subscriyve it, tho he cane wreitt.’

‘James Wood in Aird confesses he wes taken prisoner at Bothwel-

¹ MS. Records of Justiciary.

² *Ibid.*

muir with those wer defate ther ; he will not call them rebels, nor will he give bond never to ryse in armes against the King. Declaires he cannot wreitt.'

'John Clyd confesses he wes taken prisoner with the rest that wer defate at Bothwelbridge. He caryed ane sword, and refuses to inact himself never to ryse in armes against the King. Declares he cannot wreitt.'

Accordingly, the four—Andrew Sword, Thomas Brown, John Weddall, and John Clyd—were found guilty ; while 'for the first man, James Wood, the inqueist find by his confession that he wes taken at Bothwel Muir with the rest of the rebels, but not in armes ; and as for the sext man, David Hardy, the assyseis finds nothing of the lybell proven against him, therefor finds him not guilty but acquytt to be assolyied.'¹ The latter was therefore acquitted of the capital charge, but his five unfortunate fellow-prisoners were sentenced 'to be caryed to the muir of Magus within the Sherriffdome of Fyff, and that place thereof wher his Grace the late Archbishop of St. Andrews wer murdered, upon Tuesday the eighteint day of November instant betwixt two and four o'clock in the efternoon, and ther to be hanged on ane gibbet till they be dead, and ther bodies to be hung up on chaines in the said place till they rott, and all ther lands, heretages, goods, and gear to be forfault & escheat to our soveraigne Lords use for the treasonable crymes above specified ; which wer pronounced for doom.'² It need hardly be pointed out that none of these five victims of ecclesiastical vengeance had any share, directly or indirectly, in the murder of the Archbishop. They bravely met their fate, and a memorial stone now marks the place of their martyrdom.

On the 15th of November the remainder of the prisoners, to the number of 210, were marched down from the Greyfriars, under a military escort, to Leith, whence they were put aboard the sailing-vessel called the *Crown*. Here, other

¹ MS. Records of Justiciary.

² *Ibid.*

brethren in affliction from the Tolbooths of Edinburgh and the Canongate were collected, raising the total number to 257 intended for banishment to the Plantations. On reaching the boat, the resolution of John Richardson, whose name appears in the list of 15th August, failed, and he piteously appealed to the Privy Council to be liberated on account of his 'having a way'¹ and many small children, who, by his banishment, will be brought to misery and ruin.' The unfeeling Council gave orders that he should be reconveyed to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh 'till further order,' on condition that his brother deliver himself up on board the ship, and suffer in his place. Another prisoner, Robert Miller, whose name appears in both the lists of 15th August and 10th November, was more fortunate. While being conveyed from the ship back to Edinburgh on a warrant by the Lord Advocate, he was permitted to escape from the clutches of an indulgent macer of Court, who, in consequence, was deprived by the Lords of his office. On the 27th November the *Crown*, with its living cargo, sailed from Leith Roads, but of the story of its short disastrous voyage there is no contemporary account on record. For the year 1679 no newspapers are known to have been published in Scotland. The particulars, however, can be gleaned from Wodrow, Blackader's *Memoirs*, and other works written by sympathisers shortly after the event. From the first, the weather proved extremely unfavourable, and, on reaching the Orkneys on the afternoon of 10th December, the captain was forced to cast anchor. Ultimately, by the violence of the storm, the *Crown* was driven on the rocks and became a wreck. The scene of the disaster has been identified as a place called the Scarvating on the western side of the Moul Head of Deerness. The Parish Registers for Deerness for this period are not extant, but the bald facts are to be found in a contemporary diary, written by Thomas Brown, Notary Public in Kirkwall:—'The 10th of Decr. 1679,

¹ *I.e.* a good home and occupation.

being Wedinsday, at 9 in ye evening or yrabout, the vessell or ship callit ye *Crown*, qrin was 250 or yrby of ye Quhiggs takin at Bothwall Brigs to have bein sent to Verginy, paroched at or neirby ye Moull head of Deirnes.¹ Over two hundred of the wretched prisoners were drowned, and a list of the names of these unfortunate victims of 'man's inhumanity to man,' so far as could be identified, is to be found in the first edition of the *Cloud of Witnesses*, published in 1714.² A plain stone monument has been erected within recent years on a site overlooking the scene of the disaster.

W. MOIR BRYCE.

APPENDIX

I. REGISTER OF THE PRIVY COUNCIL, GENERAL REGISTER HOUSE

I. DECRETA.

Apud Edinburgh, undecimo die July 1679.—Robert Mein, keeper of the letter-office in Edinburgh, being called to the councill-barre and accused for sending up a byletter with the flying packet upon the twenty two day of June last giveing ane account to the Postmaster of England of the defeat of the rebells in the West, which was by the said Postmaster communicat to the King befor it could have been done by His Majesties Secretary for Scotland, and which letter contains severall untruths in matter of fact, and the said Robert Mein having confessed his sending away the said letter but that he did not doe the same out of any evill designe and declared the great sense he had of his said misbehaviour, the Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill doe upon consideration of the whole matter ordaine the said Robert Mein to be carryed to & continowed in prisone within the Tolbooth of Edinburgh untill their further pleasure.

¹ *Diary of Thomas Brown*, 1898, A. Francis Steuart.

² Pp. 274-277.

Apud Edinburgh, undecimo die July 1679.—Ordered that the Livtennent Generall send in some of the forces to Edinburgh for guarding the prisoners in the south Gray friar yard and that he cause them bring alongst from the Castle of Stirling, Linlithgow and Glasgow any prisoners there upon the account of the rebellion to the Grayfriar yard of Edinburgh to be kept with the other prisoners. And to the effect the Livtennent Generall may receive ane account of the names of the prisoners presently in the saids Gray friars ordered that the Magistrats of Edinburgh immediatly take up lists of their names and suffer none of them to escape that they may (*sic*) accordingly delivered prisoners to the said Livtennent Generall or commander of the party appointed by him to guard them.

Apud Edinburgh, vigesimo secundo die July 1679.—The Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill having considered the examinations of the persones underwritten taken by their committee and their report anent them doe hereby give order and warrand to Generall Dalziell, Livtennent Generall of His Majesties forces, to set at liberty furth off the prison in the Grayfrier yard, George Arnot in Arlarie, Andrew Danniell in Codziam, Alexander Barclay in Blair, James Grieve in Mahill, Robert Bird in Links of Kirkcaldie, John Lyndsay, servant to Isabell Hall, George Neiving in Pitqwhonartie, Francis Wallace in Whytehill, John Martine in Pittendreich, John Geddd there, George Marshall in Balwairdmylne, James Marshall in Newforgane, John Gibb in Pittendreich, James Willson in Balgeddie, John Bennet in Leslie, James Smyth, griever to the Laird of Lundie and now servant to the Earle of Argyle, George Stobbie in Meiklecairnrie, Robert Hamiltone of Ardrrie, John Glasse, his servant, William Young in Seamore, William Smyth, workeman in Glasgow, William Young at Evandale, John Lyndsay, servant to Archbald Lindsay in Kilbryde, John Meikle in Evandaleetoune, in regard they have inacted themselves that they shall not rise in armes without or against His Majesty or his authority.

Apud Edinburgh, ultimo die July 1679.—Anent a petition presented by Archbald Cockburn of Langtoun shewing that where the petitioner as Collonell of the militia regiment of Berwickshyre was commanded by the Lord Generall to guard the prisoners taken in the action at Bothwellbridge where the rebels were defate, and having upon his receaveing of them in Hamilton moore given his receipt of their number

to the Major Generall, and now they being all by him delivered to the Magistrats of Edinburgh and Linlithgow appointed to receive them from him by order of his Majesties privy councill conforme to the receipt under their hands of them produced to him and he accordingly exonered, and therefor humbly supplicating that order might be granted to the effect underwritten. The Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill having heard and considered the foresaid petition, they ordaine the petitioners receipt given to the Major Generall to be delivered back to him, and exoners him of the charge of the prisoners delivered to him in respect of the two receipts produced with the petitione.

Apud Edinburgh, ultimo die July 1679.—The Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill doe hereby give order and warrant to Generall Dalziell, Livetennent Generall of His Majesties forces, to set at liberty the persones following prisoners in the Grayfriar yard, viz.:—John Balnamoon in Glasgow, George Weir in Carmichaell, William Millar in Barrony of Glasgow, William Picat in Bridge-end of Glasgow, Thomas Wylie, tennent to the Earle of Lowdown, Robert Willson in Douglas, George Draphan in Lesmahago, William Syme in Leny, Robert Wallace in Phunuch, George Rutherfoord in Ancrum, Andrew Snodgrasse in Bridge-end of Glasgow, Andrew Mitchell, Alexander Findlay in Kilmarnock, Andrew Foulis in Stewartoun, James Young in Stewartoun, Patrick Gilchrist in Kippen, William McCulloch in Dalie, Thomas Oliver in Jedburgh fforrest, William Younger in Bathgate, David Curry, John Givan, tayllour in Neilstoune, in regard they have signed the band that they shall not rise in armes without or against His Majesties authority.

Apud Edinburgh, decimo septimo die Novembris 1679.—Anent a petition presented by John Ritchardson, tennent to the Lord Rosse and present prisoner aboard the shipe called the *Croune*, shewing that wher the petitioner having a way and many small children who by his banishment will be brought to misery and ruine, and the petitioner resolving to live ane dutifull and obedient subject to His Majesty in time to come, humbly therefor supplicating that the councill would grant order and warrand to John Paterson to sett the petitioner at liberty furth off the said shipe. The Lords of His Majesties Privy Councill having heard and considered the foresaid petition, doe hereby

give order and warrand to set ashoare furth off the foresaid shipe and cause convey by a guard to the Tolbooth of Edinburgh the persone of the said John Ritchardsone, and deliver him to the magistrats or keeper of the Tolbooth to be kept therein till furder order, the persone of William Richardsone, his brother, being first delivered aboard the foresaid shipe to be transported to the plantationes, and gives warrand to the Magistrats of Edinburgh to that effect for sending him abroad with a guard.

II. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

These are giving order and command to Sir Jon Nicolson, leivtenant collonell of the militia regiment of Edinburgh now quarterd at Costorphin, and in his absence the nixt commanding officer present, to draw furth of the said regiment threttie commanded men, who so soon as the cartes with the provisions this day sent from Leith towards the army come the lenth of Costorphin, that the said party receive the provisions and convey them the lenth of the army, together with fyve cartes of amunition sent therewith. Given at Edinburgh, the twenty tuo day of June 1679.

(Signed) ROTHES, *Cancell.*

We, John Park, weiver in Lanerk, Franceis Haistie, there, Bartholomow Eistoune, there, John Williamsone in Dowglas, Robert Grahame, there, Joseph Thomsone, there, William Inglis, there, James Wood in Lanerk, William Lindsay, there, at present prisoners in the Grayfreir yeard, bind, oblide and inact ourselves ilk ane of ws for our own pairts that we shall not ryse in airmes without or against his majestie or his authority. In Wittnes quhairof we have subscrivit thir presentts att Edinburgh, the twenty twa day of July I^m vj^e seventie and nyn years befor thir witnessis, Robert Hamiltoune of Ardrrie, Gawin Hamiltoun of Raploch, James Purves writter heiroyf, John Ker serjant to the Laird of Philiphawgh. (Signed) John Park, James Wood, Williame Lindesaye, Joseph Thomsne, William Ingles. G. Hameltone, witnes, R. Hamiltone, witness, Ja. Purves, witnes.

Ita est Gulielmus Lamb notarius publicus in premissis requisitus de mandato dictis Bartholomow Eistoune, Francisco Haistie, Roberto Grahame, Joanne Williamsone scribere nescien. ut asseruerunt. Testan. his meis signo de subscription manualibus.

Ita est Jacobus Craufurd, co-notarius publicus, in premissis requisitus de mandato dictorum Bartholemei Eastoun, Francisi Haisti,

Roberti Greme, Joannis Williamson scribere nescien. ut asseruerunt. Testan. his meis signo et subscription manualibus.

Similar Bond (dated 24th September 1679) by 'John Balmanno, sone to David Balmanno at the Bridge-end of Kilmarnock, and Robert Ewart, both servitors to Jon Balmanno, Candlemaker in Glasgow, prisoners in the Grayfrier yeard of Edinburgh upon the account of the rebellion.'

III. MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS. ARMY ACCOUNTS.

Accompt of money payed toward the Contingent necessarie expenss of His Majesties forces, imployed for supressing the rebellion in the West in June 1679, and after for the mantinance of the prisoners taken at defeating the rebels till they were sent beyond sea ; for the expenss of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciarie in the Justice Airs in September and October 1679 and other occassions of His Majesties service.

Payed to William Frazer, who made some discoverie of the rebellion per order and his receipt . . .	Lib. Scots.	240 00 0
To Mr. Slezzer, His Majesties engineir, toward the expence of the train of artilirie in this expeditione per order and his receipts	840 00 0	
To Captain William Dundas and John Keirrie, Quartermasters to the regiments of foot commanded by Earl Linlithgow and Earl Marr, as a gratuitie ordered to be given to the souldiers at the beginning of ther march at 1 lib. 10s. Scots to each souldier per ther receipts accordinglie, 12th June 1679	2565 00 0	
To Major Main, one of the officers of the english forces who came in at this tyme, per order and receipt, 16th June 1679	2520 00 0	
To Dr. Irwing, William Borthwick, and John Hall, chirurgeons, for furnishing of ther chists per order and receipt, June 1679	720 00 0	
To Sir John Cowper and the laird of Monorgund for some necessarie expence of ther Militia regiments of Midlothian and Forfar in the quartring at goeing to this expeditione per order and receipt	480 00 0	

To Robert Mylne, Master Maison, for some exterordinary spedie repairatione at Edinburgh Castle per order and receipt	Lib. Scots. 120 00 0
To John Drummond of Lundin sent from the Counsell to His Majesties army for small contingencies per ac- compt and receipt	180 00 0
To severall persones employed to ryd every night and day to and from His Majesties army and to the places wher the rebells were in disgyse and otherwayes for intelligence ; to the persone who brought the first intelligence to the Counsell of the defeat of the rebells ; and to a skipper for transport of wounded prisoners from Stirling to Leith	358 00 0
To James Somervail, imployed as Commissar for pre- paring buying and distributing for and to His Majesties army all provisions of meall, bread, cheise, cariage and other necessaries for the tyme of that ex- peditione, and the mantinance of the prisoners and other contingencies of servants, attendance, horss and other incidents, conforme to the particular accompt therof revised, examined, calculated, instructed and allowed, extending in all to the sum of	7625 11 4
To the clerks of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciarie, imployed for takeing up the Porteous Roll for the Justice Airs 40 lib. sterling per order and receipt ; and to Andrew Mairten imployed and intrusted for de- fraying the expence of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciarie, who went to the Justice Airs held at Stirling, Glasgow, Air, and Dumfreis ; and to William Broun imployed and intrusted for defraying the expence of the Lords of Commissioners of Justici- aris, who went to the Justice Airs held at Cowper in Fyff, Edinburgh and Jedburgh, in full of ther ex- penss conforme to the particular accompts therof revised, examined and allowed, extending in all to the sum of	6472 13 6
To severall persones for expence about witness, transport of prisoners, and some other small necessaries about the works at Holayroodhouse the tyme of ther Royall Hieness comeing ther	99 10 0

THE INNER GREYFRIARS YARD

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Item by lose of dollors takin out of Edinburgh Castle (being 1500 lib. sterling), they haveing past when put in there at 58s. per peice, and at taking out current but at 56sh. per peice, the lose is . . .	Lib. Scots. 251 16 0
	<u>22,472 10 10</u>

Totall is Tuentie tuo thousand four hundred seavinty tuo punds
10s. 10d. Scotts.

JAMES SOMERVAILL'S ACCOUNT. DISCHARGE, PAGE 6.

Given to the prisoners as follows :—

1 July 1679. Item, to the prisoners in ye Greyfriars and Heriots Hospitall Elevine hundreth eighty four pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid inde. In respect they were served with meall to ye said day . . .	Lib. Scots. 059 04 00
2 July. Item for alsmuch this day . . .	059 04 00
3 July. Item the said day for elevine hundreth eightie four pund weight of biskit at ye pryce foresaid qeh was formerlie bought to have been sent west . . .	092 08 00
4 July. Item for ye lyke number of pennie loaves at ye same pryce inde . . .	059 04 00
10 July. Item the said day for 338 pennie loaves at ye same pryce. In respect the days intervening betwixt ye 4th and 10th were served by meall . . .	016 18 00
11 July. Item the said day for 324 pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid . . .	016 04 00
12 July. Item for ye said daye's provisione 300 pennie loaves at ye pryce fores ^d . inde . . .	015 00 00
13 July. Item for ye said daye's provisione 300 pennie loaves at ye pryce fors ^d . inde. . .	015 00 00
14 July. Item ye said day for 300 pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid inde . . .	015 00 00
15 July. Item the said day 300 pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid inde . . .	015 00 00
16 July. Item the said day for 380 pennie loaves at ye pryce fores ^d . inde . . .	019 00 00
17 July. Item the said day for 400 pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid inde . . .	020 00 00

	Lib. Scots.
18 July. Item the s ^d . 18th July 1679, 380 pennie loaves at ye pryce for ^d . inde	019 00 00
19 July. Item the said day 380 pennie loaves at ye pryce foresaid inde	019 00 00
20 July. Item the said day 380 pennie loaves at ye pryce fores ^d . inde	019 00 00
21 July. Item the said day 380 pennie loaves at ye pryce fores ^d . inde	019 00 00
22 July. Item to ye prisoners in the Grayfriars 348 pennie loaves inde	017 08 00
23 July. Item the said day for 330 pennie loaves to them	016 10 00
24 July. Item the said day for 330 pennie loaves to them	016 10 00
25 July. Item the said day for 312 pennie loaves to them	015 12 00
26 July. Item the said day for 312 pennie loaves	015 12 00
27 July. Item the said day for 312 pennie loaves to them	015 12 00
28 July. Item the said day for 312 pennie loaves to them	015 12 00
29 July. Item the said day for 312 pennie loaves to them	015 12 00
30 July. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
31 July. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
1 August 1679. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
2 August. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
3 August. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
4 August. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
5 August. Item the said day for 280 pennie loaves to them	014 00 00
6 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
7 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
8 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
9 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
10 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
11 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
12 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
13 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
14 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00

THE INNER GREYFRIARS YARD

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15 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	Lib. Scots. 012 10 00
16 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
17 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
18 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
19 August. Item the said day for 250 pennie loaves to them	012 10 00
20 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them is	012 00 00
21 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them is	012 00 00
22 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
23 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
24 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
25 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
26 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
27 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
28 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
29 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
30 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
31 August. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
1 September '79. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
2 September. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
3 September. Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00

4 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	Lib. Scots. 012 00 00
5 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
6 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
7 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
8 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
9 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
10 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
11 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
12 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
13 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
14 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
15 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
16 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
17 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
18 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
19 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
20 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
21 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
22 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00
23 September.	Item the said day for 240 pennie loaves to them	012 00 00

24 September	} Item for twentie dayes provisione to them, viz. from the said twentie fourth September to the said 14 October at 240 pennie loaves per diem, which extends to .	
14 October '79.		Lib. Scots. 240 00 00
14 October	} Item for seavintein dayes provisione to them, viz. from the said 14 October to the 31 thereof at 230 pennie loaves per diem, which extends to .	
the 31 day.		195 10 00
31 October	} Item for 14 dayes provision to them, viz. from the said 31 October to the 14 November at 215 pennie loaves per diem, which extends to .	
14 November '79.		150 10 00
14 day.	Item the said day for 210 pennie loaves to them is	010 10 00
15 day.	Item the said day or 210 pennie loaves to them, being the last day .	010 10 00
Item payed to the baxters in Edinr. and Cannongate for balking 100 bolls meall at 16s. Scots p. boll, which was given to the said prisoners as 11 dayes provisions, viz. : from the 25 June to the first of July and from the 4th July to the 10 day yrof inde .		080 00 00
		<hr/> 1095 00 00
Item for thriescore bolls of meall with the sacks and other charges bought be Sir William Sharp in Edinburgh mercat, and which was given to the prisoners in the Grayfriars as sex dayes provisione at ten bolls per diem, viz. from the 25 of June to the first day of July 1679, being brought in the 24 of June conforme to ane particular accompt thereof apavit .		293 07 08
Item more payed to Magnus Prince for fourtie bolls of meall, which was also given to the prisoners in the Grayfriars as fyve dayes provision, viz. from the fourth Julii to the tenth thereof inclusive at 4lib. 16s. per boll conforme to his accompt .		463 08 06
Item he [the accompter] also craves allowance for two men for carieing and destributeing the prisoners bread in the Grayfriars, and for ane other man over-seeing the same done from the 25 of Junii to the 15 November 1679 .		172 00 00

ACCOUNT FOR HORSES.

Ane Accompt of horses and carts pressed by the Magistrats of Edinburgh for His Majesty's service at Bothwell Bridge.

June 1679.

The incorporatione of the Carters of Leith by thair generall accompt finds 26 carts, each cart 17 dayes is in number 225 days, for quhich they clam 40s. for each cart per diem, but thinkes that 30s. aught to satisfie, quhich at 30s. amounts to . . .	Lib. s. d. 337 10 00
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In thair same accompt finds 42 horses each of them 17 dayes amounting to 480 days, for quhich they clame 16s. per diem for each horse and man, but thinks that 12s. per diem for each of them may satisfie, being compted at 12s. per diem is . . .	288 00 00
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Item in the said accompt thair is placed for dead and stolne horses 279 lib., but it is thocht 140 lib. should satisfie	140 00 00
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I find by the poor peoples dayly troubling of the Magistrats that thair wes 26 coach horses prest, each horse being 17 dayes in the service, for quhich they clame for each horse and man 20s. per diem, but its thocht that 16s. per diem for ilk horse is satisfactory, thair being 14 thair of asserted to have bein prest by Captain Hay of Baro, quhich attestatiōne Sir William Sharpe hath, being in dayes 442 at 16s. as said is extends to	353 12 00
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It is found thair wer severall poor breuars both in toune, Leith and the shyre to have hade both thair horses and carts pressed, quhair of 2 carts were made to appear to be lost, and uthers asserted that there horses were never got backe, thair clame amounts to 150 lib., but it is thocht 100 lib. should satisfie inde . . .	100 00 00
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Summa is	1219 02 00 .
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II. JUSTICIARY RECORDS

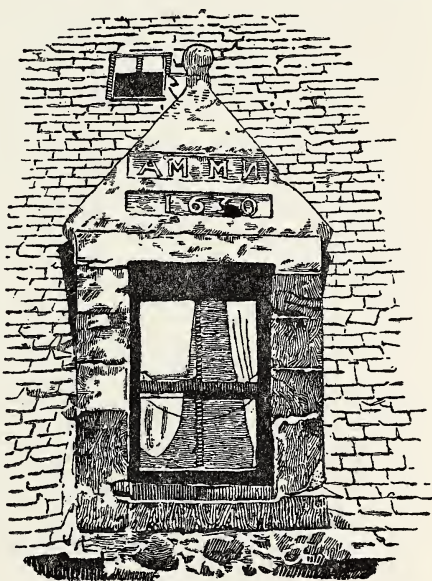
26 Novr. 1679.—The said day the Lords taking to consideration in the confession of Gilbert Mair emmitted in ther presence the twentie of this instant whereof the tenor followes.—Edin. 20 Nov. 1679.

The said day in presence of the Lords Commissioners of Justiciarie compeired Gilbert Mair, Macer, and confest that he went to the shipe wher the rebell prisoners are aboard, and that he receaved the person of Robert Miller in Risco be vertue of ane warrand from the Lord Advocat, and having brought him to Leith he suffered him to remaine ther at freidome be the space of two hours upon parroll during which tyme the declarant went abroad about his affairs, and therefte, he brought the sd. Robert Millar to Edinr. to the house of an widdowe balyie wher he suffered him to be lykwayes upon parroll untill the declarant went to the Lord Advocats house and returned againe and then Millar stept out of the door, the declarant thinking he would shortlie returne, but he sawe no more of him.

The Lords therefor did suspend and depryve the said Gilbert Mair from the exercise of his office.

THE CANNON-BALL HOUSE¹

THE Cannon-ball House is a large and substantial tenement standing on the south-west corner of Castle Hill (Street). It is bounded on the west by the Castle Wynd, which separates it from the Esplanade, and on the east by the modern Board School, which, twenty years ago, replaced the stately mansion of the Duke of Gordon, Governor of Edinburgh Castle for James II. and VII. The building was erected in the reign of Charles I. A dormer window facing the Esplanade bears the figures 1630, but although it is a seventeenth-century house, its present aspect is more suggestive of the early eighteenth century.

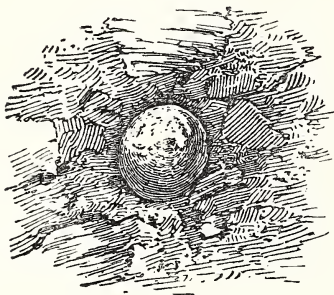


Dormer Window.

This appearance is explained by the fact that the tenement has survived three sieges of the Castle: first, Cromwell's siege, 1650; next, the siege conducted in the interest of William of Orange in the year 1689; and finally, the siege

¹ This historic tenement was offered for sale by auction at Barnetson's Rooms, 46 George Street, Edinburgh, on 18th November 1909, at 2 P.M. The upset price was fixed at £2500. There were no bidders.

of 1745, when the Castle was held for George II. by Generals Guest and Preston. When Preston saw an opportunity to damage the rebels, he fired on them with his artillery, and, it is said, a ball from a gun located in the Half-moon Battery found its billet in the west wall of the Cannon-ball House,

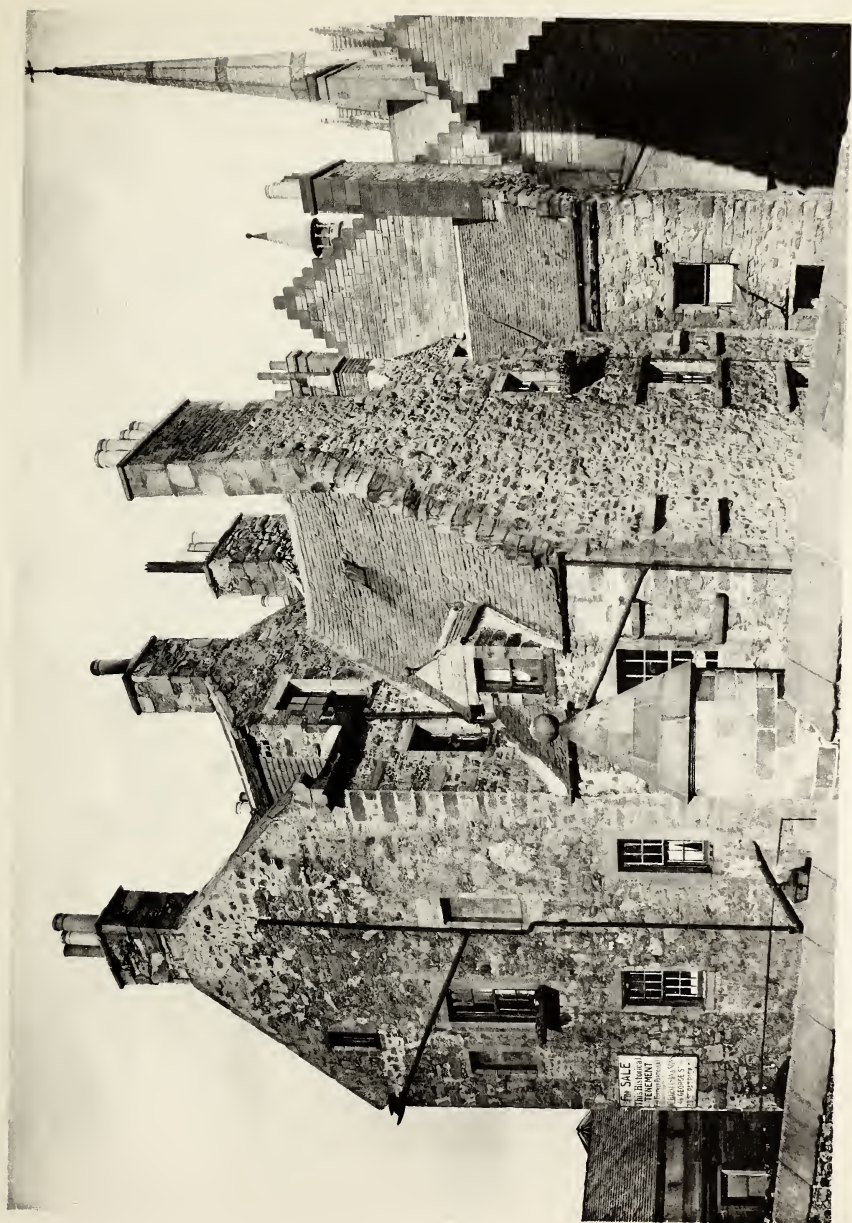


Cannon-ball.

where it still remains to furnish a name to the building and to confirm the tradition.

Other and more prosaic attempts have been made to account for its presence, but, in the absence of proof, the more romantic and probable explanation may be accepted. It has been stated above that the general aspect of the house somewhat belies the date inscribed on

the western dormer, but it may reasonably be assumed that a full explanation of this fact is found in the damage sustained by the building in course of three successive sieges. Another feature peculiar to the tenement, and, indeed, unique in Edinburgh, is the presence, above and beneath a number of the windows on the south and west sides, of stone slides whereby wooden shutters could be pushed aside during the day and drawn back, to cover the windows, at night. Any explanation of this curious and very unusual arrangement is purely conjectural, but the slides, in several cases, demonstrate the fact that the original windows have, at some later date, been replaced by larger ones. On the northern front it would appear that all the windows have been enlarged, with the exception of two which light the staircase. These two are different in form from the others, and have the further distinction of being surrounded by a graceful moulding. The more modern windows are all absolutely plain. A small self-contained house entering from the ground-floor at the upper end of the tenement has access by an elegant doorway approached by



CANNON-BALL HOUSE, FROM THE CASTLE ESPLANADE.



a short flight of steps guarded by effective stone parapets. The whole composition is extremely successful. Little is known of the earlier inhabitants of this ancient dwelling-place. Its historic interest lies mainly in the fact that it has witnessed and survived the three latest sieges of Edinburgh Castle. It is much to be hoped that the building may be long preserved among the monuments of our city, and it may interest members of the Old Edinburgh Club to be informed that, besides the Cannon-ball House, there are three other groups, more or less derelict, on which conservative effort may well be concentrated. These are the HUNTLY HOUSE and other buildings in Bakehouse Close, the TAILORS' HALL and adjoining buildings in Cowgate, and the old-world tenements at the head of Fleshmarket Close. Year by year these relics of the past disappear. An ungainly modern house has replaced the picturesque buildings adjoining Milton House School, and the fine old tenement at the head of Plainstones Close has shared the fate which has recently overtaken the quaint dwellings in the interior.

BRUCE J. HOME.

THE SCULPTURED STONES OF EDINBURGH

II. THE WEST-END AND DALRY GROUPS¹

IN no direction have the city extensions and improvements of the last century scored their marks more deeply than towards the West. The path of Edinburgh's social and industrial expansion has lain largely towards the setting sun—the side on which it is exposed to the remote but palpable attraction of the great mass of Glasgow and the busy communities that surround it. The lines of two railway systems, carrying traffic to and from the West and North, traverse these Western suburbs, and besides occupying a wide space with their sidings and approaches, have brought powerful and all-pervading influences to bear upon the form and rate of growth of the modern city. The Canal, also, which penetrates it on this flank almost to the neighbourhood of the walls and West Port of Old Edinburgh, although no longer a channel of intercourse, still less an addition to West-End amenities, has played in its day, and still plays, its own part in introducing changes. The old highways of travel and business, so often trodden by history, and particularly the main artery that continues Princes Street westward past the Haymarket and the crossing of the Water of Leith at Coltbridge towards Linlithgow and Falkirk, have been converted into city streets, repeatedly widened and reconstructed, relieved and fed by side avenues, and laid with tram-lines. They have invaded the fields and gardens and swept away manor-houses and country-houses, the homes of Edinburgh merchant families

¹ The first article on the Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh, 'The Dean Group,' was printed in the first volume of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, 1908.

and of rural magnates that once clustered thickly on this side of the town. Of most of these few or no memorials, in the shape of sculptured or inscribed stones, have been preserved either on the spots where they stood or in our museums of local antiquities. Fortunately, two or three specimens of the domestic architecture of other centuries have survived in a fair state of preservation within the extended western boundary, and there are fragments of others that should help to make a survey of this area interesting for the members of the Old Edinburgh Club.

It was through the cranny of the West Port that the city first 'burst its steeks' in this direction. Wester Portsburgh was Edinburgh's first West End. It is not proposed to touch even lightly on the history of this extra-mural burgh, which along with Easter Portsburgh, lying outside the Potterrow Port, had 'its distinct municipality, its own courts and mills, and its own incorporated trades.' My purpose goes no further than to take note, here as elsewhere, of the buildings of older date, still standing, or of which authentic record has been kept, that had carven upon them, in the form of initials, motto, year, heraldic emblem, trade symbol, or other sculptured ornament, a chronicle of their period, ownership, and origin.

Unfortunately the besom of city improvements has made a particularly ruthless sweep between the West Port and Main Point. Nearly the whole line of street frontage has been re-edified—certainly not in a manner to make amends by architectural effect for the loss of the air of antiquity. Baird's Close and St. Cuthbert's Close, whose antique and picturesque features are represented in Mr. Bruce Home's *Old Houses of Edinburgh*, have lately gone to join the host of other ancient alleys leading to the King's Stables, the West Kirk, or the High Riggs, that survive only in the pictured page or as ghosts haunting the memory of the older citizens. With the houses have suffered removal, and in most cases entire

disappearance, the panels and lintels on which the Portsburgh burgesses inscribed the testimony of their piety, their craft, or other particulars of date, lineage, or family arms which they fondly hoped would interest posterity.

'Thomas Boreland's house still stands immediately behind the site of the old Corn Market,' writes Wilson; 'a handsome and substantial erection adorned with picturesque gables and dormer windows, which form a prominent feature of the oft-repeated view of "the Castle from the Vennel."' It stands no longer; nor is the inscription 'Fear · God · Honour · the · King,' with the date '1675,' and the initials 'T. B., V. B.'—probably those of the owner and his wife—any longer discoverable. It is conjectured that a process of reduction pursued by the Duke of Queensferry, as Constable of the Castle in 1685, against Thomas Boreland and other heritors and possessors of the King's Stables, as invaders of the Crown property, may have been prompted by the rise of a structure so fully in the eye of the custodian of the Castle. A generation earlier, in 1661, the town had bought the superiority of King's Stables from James Boreland, after having, thirteen years before, become, by purchase from Sir Adam Hepburn, feudal superior of Wester Portsburgh itself.

Another house with an inscribed lintel that is no longer discoverable is that which, we are told, was in the reign of Mary the abode of John Lowrie, a substantial citizen, and bore above the doorway the words 'SOLI DEO,' with the date '1565' and the initials 'H. G.,' between which was placed 'a large ornamental shield bearing the device of a pot full of lilies, one of the most common emblems of the Virgin Mary.' Wilson adds that 'John Lowrie's initials'—it will be observed that those given are not Lowrie's—are repeated in ornamental characters on the eastern crow-step, separated by what appears to be a baker's peel, probably indicating that its owner belonged to the ancient fraternity of baxters.' Somewhat dubious is the inference drawn from the pot of lilies

that the builder was 'a zealous adherent of the ancient faith in ticklish times.' More definite association of Portsburgh with the Virgin is contained in the names of two alleys—'Chapel Wynd' and 'Lady Wynd'—in the vicinity of an ancient chapel of which there were some remains in Maitland's and in Kincaid's time.



Stone in West Port bearing the Insignia of the Cordiners of Portsburgh.

The Court-room of the Burgh, latterly occupied as a mission hall, survived until 1881. Painted in oils in the dome were the arms and insignia of the Crafts. Only two relics of the Incorporated Trades of this populous suburb now remain *in situ*. One is the sculptured panel of the Cordiners' Hall inserted above the doorway of a new structure at 70 West Port. Within a wreath, grasped on either

side by a hand, is a cordwainer's paring-knife, surmounted by a crown. There are winged cherubs in the upper corners of the tablet, and below is a familiar first verse of the metrical version of the 133rd Psalm, repeated on the panel of the Tailors' Craft of Easter Portsburgh, and on the stone affixed to the Shoemakers' Land, Canongate :—

‘ Behold, how good a thing it is,
And how becoming well,
Together such as brethren are
in unity to dwell.’

Beneath these lines is the date ‘ A.D. 1696.’ On a house on the opposite side of the street, No. 69, is a panel of the weaving trade. It bears the year 1735, and an appropriate text, taken from Job, vii. chapter, 6 verse : ‘ My days are swifter than a weaver's shuttle.’ Carved on it, also, are the arms of the Weavers' Craft—a chevron bearing three mullets, between three leopards' heads, having in their mouths a weaver's shuttle, or ‘ spule.’ This stone is said to have been built into one of the weaving factories of which Wester Portsburgh at one time possessed ‘ not a few.’¹

On the skirts of Portsburgh, on the eastern side of the present Lauriston Street, stood the mansion house of High Riggs, described by Grant, who sets it down as of fifteenth-century date, and as ‘ undoubtedly one of the oldest, if not the very oldest, of the houses in the city.’ His sketch of it, as it appeared in 1854, hardly bears out this claim of age, and the ‘ crow-stepped gables and dormers ’ appear to point to a considerably later date. It belonged to the Lawsons of High Riggs, whose lands skirted the city walls and the Borough Loch, and whose name survives in Lady Lawson Street. The founder of the family, Mr. Richard Lawson, Provost of Edinburgh, Justice-Clerk in the reign of James IV., is conjectured to be that ‘ indweller in the

¹ Colston's *Incorporated Trades of Edinburgh*, p. 127.

town' of the name who, according to Pitscottie, heard his name called in the weird 'Summons of Plotcock' from the Mercat Cross, on the eve of Flodden, and made appeal to a higher power. If this be so, the appeal was disallowed, for



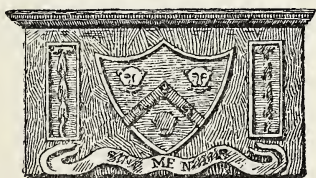
Stone in West Port bearing the Insignia of the Weavers of Portsburgh.

he fell in the battle with his King. A daughter of this 'Mr. Richart Lawsons, provest of Edinburgh,' was the occasion of the famous encounter between the doughty Fife laird, Squyer Meldrum of Binns, and Stirling of Keir, 'betuix Leytht and Edinburgh, beneth the Rude Chapel,' as sung by Sir David Lyndesay.¹ One may as well look for Castle

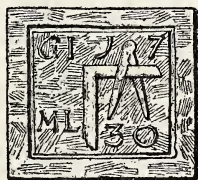
¹ Pitscottie's *Chronicles of Scotland*, Scottish Text Society, vol. i. p. 299.

Collop, the residence of Richie Moniplies, 'of an honourable family in the West Port of Edinburgh,' as for the old home of the Lawsons of High Riggs; it was demolished in 1877.

The name of High Riggs is still attached to one of the thoroughfares that diverge from Main Point towards north, south, and west. A couple of centuries ago it was the most southerly of the three approaches to the West Port on this side, and led to the Toll Cross, the Burgh Muir, and the Biggar Road. The other two followed the lines of Fountainbridge and of Bread Street, to the west towards Slateford and north-west towards Coltbridge. Few indeed are the traces left in the architecture of the district of the time when the West Kirk and kirkyard were the meeting-place of a congeries of rural lanes leading from the confines of a wide parish; when Castle Barns was a 'hamlet on the Lanark Road'; when Fountainbridge was the 'Toun End,' and the sites of 'the Grove' and Thorniebauk merited their country-smelling names. The eighteenth-century 'gusset-house,' between Fountainbridge and Bread Street—a villa degraded to a dairy—is even now marked for demolition, after having long been overcrowded by neighbouring tenements. A shield, with motto and arms, is attached to a humble dwelling in Semple



Stone in Semple Street
bearing the Weavers' Arms.



Stone in Morrison Street
bearing the Insignia of the Wrights.

Street. It bears the arms of the Weavers' Incorporation, already described, and their motto, 'Sine me nudus,' much defaced.

Several early eighteenth-century houses with forestairs,

roundels, and gabled fronts still linger in the neighbourhood of Castle Barns and the Canal Basins. One at No. 78 Morrison Street bears a panel with square and compass—the insignia of the Wrights—and on either side of it the initials ‘G. J.’, ‘M. L.’, and the date ‘1730.’ The archaic-looking but not very ancient piece of sculpture that surmounted the entrance of the Charity Workhouse in St. Cuthbert’s Lane, the site of which is covered by the



Stone formerly on St. Cuthbert’s Charity Workhouse.

Caledonian Railway, has been removed to the Municipal Museum. It bears the date ‘1759’ and the text, from the Apocrypha: ‘My Son, defraud not the Poor of his living, and Make not the Needy Eyes to wait Long. Eccl. iv. 1.’

The panel contains a quaint figure in cocked hat and square-tailed coat, depositing alms in the bag of the father of a pauper family; a small child follows the father, succeeded by the mother, with a baby on her back.

Returning to the immediate neighbourhood of the West Kirk and its churchyard (which is rich in sculptured tombstones of old 'portioners, burgesses, and indwellers' of Portsburgh and its neighbourhood), note has to be taken of an interesting inscribed tablet, which is a record of one of the earliest and most distinguished of the ministers of St. Cuthbert's after its erection into a collegiate charge in post-Reformation times. This is the Rev. Robert Pont, an associate of Knox and member of the first Assembly of the Reformed Church, which he afterwards often presided over, and boldly defended against kingly invasions of its claims. Pont, who was a reviser of the *Book of Discipline* and writer of some of the metrical Psalms, was appointed to the second charge of St. Cuthbert's in 1574, and became minister of the first charge in 1578. His death in 1606 led to a long controversy between the kirk-session and his widow (she was his third wife) over the question whether a tombstone she had set up to his memory should be taken down and replaced by one that had been prepared by himself.

In October 1593, Mr. Pont 'proponit to ye elderis, deacones and honest men of ye parochin,' agreeably to the Act of Assembly on the subject, 'gif they wald build a manse presentlie upone the kirk land to him.' They were unable to comply with the request 'presentlie' because of 'ye wark in bulding of ane uther kirk,' but 'war content that ye said Mr. Ro. Pont suld buld ane manse upon his awin expences,' to be enjoyed by him and his heirs, until redeemed by the parish.¹

Into the wall a panel was inserted which reads :—

' Religioni et
Posteris in
Ministerio · S.
R.P.G.A. 1594.'

¹ *History of the West Kirk*, 1829, p. 2.

It is noteworthy that the first two lines are in relief, and that the intention had evidently been to complete the inscription in the same style ; but for some reason the third and fourth lines were incised instead. 'S,' which is in this



Stone formerly on St. Cuthbert's Manse.

marked way separated from the 'R.P.' in the succeeding line may be read as the clerical title 'Sir,' bestowed in the days of Pont and of Shakespeare on churchmen who had graduated. The other initials are somewhat puzzling. They are not those of Mr. Pont's colleague, Mr. Aird, a mason turned preacher, whose Christian name was William—nor any of his wives, the third of whom—Margaret Smith—may, however, be commemorated by the letters 'M M S S' cut on the bottom moulding of the tablet. It is not wholly apart from the subject to mention that Pont's oldest son was the Rev. Timothy Pont, the mathematician and topographer, celebrated for his 'cursory observations on the monuments of antiquity.'

The panel was removed from the original manse to its successor, and is now built into the eastern wall of St. Cuthbert's Hall, at an elevation where it is apt to escape the eye even of those familiar with the spot.

Pont's own memorial tablet, removed from old St. Cuthbert's Church when the building was taken down in 1775, to

the tomb of the Rev. David Williamson, in the churchyard, is still partly decipherable. It reads:

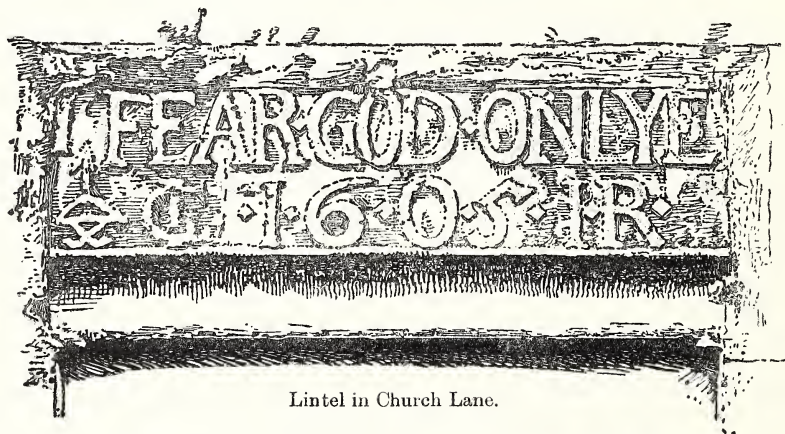
‘ Ille ego, Robertus Pontanus
in hoc prope sacro
Christi qui fueram Pastor
Gregis auspice Christo
Aeternae hic recubans ex-
specto resurgere vitae
Obiit diem aet. 81 men-
sis Maii A.D. 1606.’

At the Kirkbraehead, near the site of Rutland Street and the entrance to the Caledonian Railway Station, stood, until well on in last century, Kirkbraehead House, a suburban residence, in which lived, among other notabilities, Mrs. Grant of Laggan, until she removed to Manor Place, which at the time of the death of the writer of *Letters from the Mountains* and for some time later, looked out into the open country. The ‘Kirk Loan’ ran between hedgerows down to the Water of Leith at Stockbridge. Its lower end keeps the name, in the degraded form of ‘Church Lane,’ and near the bottom, inserted above the door of the old house in which David Roberts, the artist, was born—but plainly removed from its original place, which was probably in a High Street close—is a lintel, bearing a bold and well-chiselled inscription: ‘I Fear God Onlye,’ while below is the date ‘1605,’ with the letters ‘I. G.’ and ‘I. R.’ on either side, the former pair accompanied by a merchant’s mark. The initials are, no doubt, those of spouses, heads of some burgh family of standing in the town.¹

An acquired claim to be admitted among the Sculptured

¹ In Mr. Cumberland Hill’s *Memorials of Stockbridge*, p. 72, it is stated that the house, ‘Duncan’s Land,’ is ‘built of stones taken from the old houses removed from the Lawnmarket, on the opening up of Bank Street.’ The initials correspond to those of John Gourlay, merchant and ‘customar’ of Edinburgh in James VI.’s days,

Stones of Edinburgh might perhaps be made out on behalf of a marble tablet, bearing an Oriental inscription, discovered in the course of excavations in Saunders Street, adjoining the foot of Church Lane and the river-bank, and now deposited within the Municipal Museum. It contains a Persian inscription, in Arabic characters, in which Zia Allah Shah invites prayer to



Lintel in Church Lane.

be offered for the departed Allah Yar, son of Sikandar, with the date A. H. 1164 (A.D. 1751). Its most probable source has been pronounced to be northern India, but its history is unknown, although it has been conjectured that it may have been in the collection, so unfortunately scattered, of Walter Ross, on the opposite bank of the stream, and had got carelessly shovelled into the spot where it was found.

A more westerly road from the Kirkbraehead led to the river-side at the Water of Leith mills, and thence to the Queen's Ferry. It passed near the house of Drumsheugh, of the grounds of which, renowned in their day for their beauty and seclusion, the only trace remaining is a tree or two in Randolph Crescent. It was the refuge of the Chevalier Johnstone when, after Culloden, he sheltered here in the disguise of a packman, with the ill-starred Lady Jane Douglas, who contracted at

Drumsheugh the secret marriage with Sir John Stewart from which sprung the successful claimant in the great 'Douglas Cause.' A traveller on the way from London to Elgin, about 1790, relates that he visited Lord Moray at Drumsheugh, 'a delightful house and garden on the edge of the new town, commanding a noble view down a woody bank of Leith Water, the Firth of Forth, and the County of Fife beyond it. The new buildings begin to elbow his lordship, but as he is proprietor of the grounds around he can always keep them at proper distance. This is literally *rus in urbe*.'

The continuation of the Glasgow Road to the westward of the Kirkbraehead skirted the lands of Easter and Wester Coates, and is roughly represented by the present main line of thoroughfare from the West End of Princes Street to the Haymarket. Along with the Dean and neighbouring properties, Coates appears to have formed part of the Lindsay possessions, and an Act of Parliament of 1592 confirms Lord Lindsay of the Byres in its ownership. The mansion of Wester Coates or White House, described in 1783 as belonging to the heirs of the deceased James Finlay of Walliford and lately possessed by Lord Covington, situated on the highway leading to Coltbridge, was removed in 1869 to make way for Grosvenor Street, and it is recorded that in excavating the site a number of 'ancient bronze Caledonian swords' were discovered.¹ Its neighbour, Easter Coates, has been more fortunate; and we may now feel assured that, as an adjunct to St. Mary's Cathedral, it will be carefully preserved and



Marble Slab with Persian inscription, found in Saunders Street.

¹ *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, New Series, vol. i. p. 320.

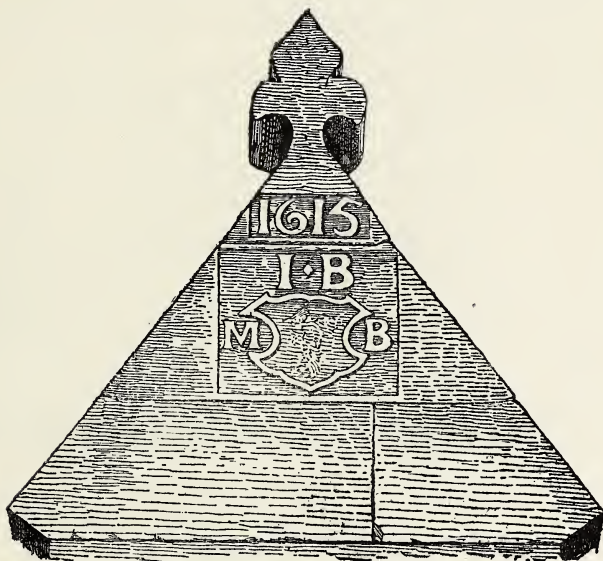
handed down through many future generations, as an example of the residence of a successful Edinburgh merchant and suburban magnate of the days when James I. and VI. was King.

In Burke's *Landed Gentry* it is stated that John Byres purchased Coates about the year 1610. He was not the first of his name to own property and occupy a civic position in the town. According to the Cartulary of St. Giles, a Thomas de Byres was possessor of land in Edinburgh so far back as 1392. But John Byres, whose life was throughout almost contemporary with that of his Sovereign, the Modern Solomon, was able to give the family a standing and importance which it did not previously possess. That 'truly good and excellent citizen,' as his imposing monument in Greyfriars Churchyard describes him, was born in 1569, and was forty years old when he bought Coates. His chief municipal honours came at a later date. He was 'two years city bailie, two years a suburban bailie, and six years—1619 to 1624 inclusive—Dean of Guild.' He was also Treasurer, and for two years Provost of Edinburgh. From the beginning of 1622 until nearly the close of 1625 he presided, as Moderator, over the meetings of the Convention of Royal Burghs. He died in 1629, at almost the same age as his royal master.

Perhaps it was in order to enable him to carry on the duties of an active public life that Byres retained his town residence after he had built his country-house at Coates, a mile away from the High Street. His lodging is said to have been in a tenement of the Luckenbooths. But on the other hand we are told that Byres Close was named after him, and if it be true, as we are assured by Sir Daniel Wilson and other authorities, that a carved lintel, bearing the inscription 'Blissit be God in al his Giftis,' with the initials 'I. B.' and 'M. B.' and the date '1611,' was removed to the Coates House some ninety years ago, from its position in the High Street alley, where still stands the dormered mansion that belonged to Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, we have the

curious fact that John Byres was putting his mark upon his dwelling in town at the time when he must have been setting about the building of his country manor-house.

We may safely assign the dormer gable with the same initials and the date '1615,' and with less confidence the carving above the door, bearing the word 'Jehova,' the city motto, 'Nisi Dominus Frustra,' and the figures '1614,' as parts of



Dormer Window, Coates House.

the original structure and belonging to a time when Byres was beginning to take a prominent part in municipal affairs. The initials 'M. B.' are those of his first wife, Margaret Barclay, a daughter of the well-known family of Barclay of Tolly, or Towie Barclay, in Aberdeenshire, one of the scions of which, the descendant of a Riga merchant, was that famous Marshal, Prince Barclay de Tolly, who turned back Napoleon in his Russian campaign. She had three daughters, two of whom married merchant burgesses in Edinburgh, while the third,

Rachel, became the wife of Thomas Sydserrf, successively Bishop of Brechin, Galloway, and Orkney, and an active figure in the ecclesiastical strife of the period. She died in 1616, so that she could only have been for a year or two the mistress of the new house on which the letters of her name are engraved.

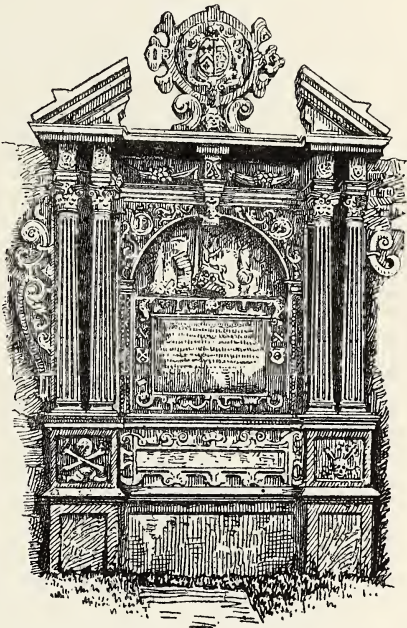


Inscription over Door in Coates House.

In 1617-18, John Byres married Agnes, daughter of Robert Smyth, merchant burgess, and sister to Sir John Smyth of Groithill and King's Cramond, Member of Parliament, and Lord Provost of Edinburgh. She afterwards married the Rev. James Reid, minister of the West Kirk. She is the 'A. S.' who along with his children set up the tomb in the Greyfriars. By John Byres she had a family of six sons, most of them men who became closely associated with the business and social life of the city. One of them, Robert, an advocate, married a daughter of Lord Provost David Aikenhead; another, James, became a merchant in Aberdeen, and is the ancestor of the family of

Moir-Byres of Tonley, who now represent in the race of Byres of Coates. The oldest son, Sir John Byres, succeeded to the estate on his father's death. He graduated at Edinburgh University in 1635, became a devoted Royalist, fought in the civil wars, and was knighted for his services. In 1645 he was captured and imprisoned at St. Andrews along with other Cavalier officers. This gallant supporter of King Charles died in 1648 at the age of twenty-nine. He had added the lands of Warriston to the family property. His wife was Isabel, daughter of Sir John Auchmuty of Gosford, Keeper of the Wardrobe to Charles I. Their son, the third John Byres of Coates in succession, also took an active share in the public events of the time. He is described in a family memoir as 'a man of parts, but much addicted to gallantry and pleasure'

—his period was that of the Restoration—'and having an expensive turn he spent his estate.' He married, as appears from entries in the record kept by his father-in-law, the writer of the *Account Book*, published by the Scottish History Society, Jean, third daughter of Sir John Foulis of Ravelston. The marriage took place in Corstorphine Kirk in August 1658, when the bridegroom, like his father before him, was only nineteen years of age. She died in childbirth a year later, and was 'buried in ye Greyfriar Yard, in ye middle of old John Byres, his tombe.' Their son George seems to have pre-



Byres' Tomb in Greyfriars.

deceased his father, who married, in 1666, as his second wife, Liliias, eldest daughter of Sir John Grant of Grant and Freuchie, ancestor of the Earls of Seafield. It was probably through this northern connection that the Laird of Coates acquired, in 1676, an interest in the lands of Ruthven in Badenoch, the overlord of which, Lewis, third Marquis of Huntly, had married another daughter of the Laird of Grant.

Hitherto the family associations had been chiefly Presbyterian. But we find from the second volume of Cramond's *Records of Elgin*—New Spalding Club—that Byres and his lady had become Roman Catholics, and they are dealt with after the manner of the day by the Elgin Presbytery, within whose jurisdiction they were dwelling. A daughter of this pair, Mary Byres, lived with her aunt, the Marchioness of Huntly, and had an annuity out of the lands of Coates until 1702, when the estate was sold to Archibald, first Earl of Rosebery. Before parting with the family of Byres of Coates, it may be mentioned that a grandson of the builder of the house, son of James, the Aberdeen merchant, and also a James, was one of the chief promoters of the Darien Expedition. Fifty years later, Patrick Byres, of the same branch, who had heired from his mother the estate of Tonley, was a major in the Jacobite army at Culloden, and afterwards fled to France and entered the Regiment of Royal Scots of which Lochiel was Colonel.

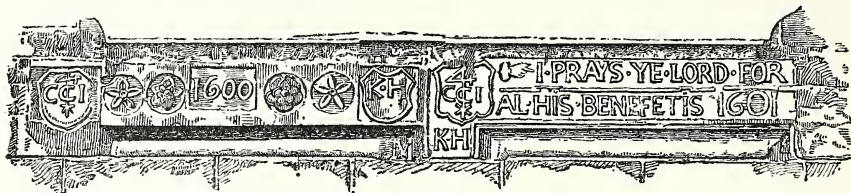
In 1704 the estate of Coates was purchased by the Governors of the Heriot Trust from Lord Rosebery for 59,655 pounds Scots—say £5000 sterling—‘precisely the same amount as his Lordship paid to John Byres of Coates for said grounds.’ So that the property only remained for a couple of years in the possession of the ancestor of the President of the Club. In 1706 the Trust bought the lands of Warriston, which had also passed from Byres's hands into those of Robert Gray. The original vassal of East Coates under the Trust was James Finlay, who was also possessor of Walliford, the

date of his charter being 1734 ; while West Coates is described in the Heriot Rental Book as having been feued in 1792 to the 'Duchess of Glencairn.' This appears to have been Elizabeth, Countess-Dowager of Glencairn, wife of the twelfth Earl, whose death, at 'Coats,' in the 77th year of her age, is recorded in the *Edinburgh Advertiser* as having taken place on 25th June 1801. Her brother-in-law, William, the fourteenth and last Earl of Glencairn, died at Coates in 1796. The death of Allan Maconachie, one of the Senators of the College of Justice—the first, and father of the second, Lord Meadowbank—took place at Coates House in June 1816. In 1805 the part of the estate containing the old mansion, which had now, to distinguish it from its neighbour, become known as Easter Coates, came by feu charter into possession of the Walker family, in which the office of Gentleman Usher of the White Rod in the Scottish Parliament is hereditary. In 1870, Miss Mary and Miss Barbara Walker of Coates and Drumsheugh, sisters of Sir Patrick Walker, who added the north wing to the house and built into it the sculptured stones from the Old Town, bequeathed the ground for the erection of St. Mary's Cathedral, which now dominates the site. Part of the lands of Coates was feued in 1833 to James Donaldson's Trustees, and on it rose the Hospital which is another of the ornaments of the town.

Easter Coates House is described in Messrs. Macgibbon and Ross's book as a simple Scottish house of an oblong form, with a slight projection to the front which had originally contained the entrance doorway, now built up, and the staircase to the first floor, where the principal rooms of the mansion were situated. Above this level, the staircase is carried up in a corbelled angle turret, the corbels running down almost to the ground, while smaller ones in the wall of the staircase follow the rise of the steps in an unusual and picturesque manner. Large angle turrets, supported by corbels, almost engulf the wall of the south gable ; they are

pierced with shot-holes, and a sundial had been placed on the south-western turret. The dormers are of ashlar work, the edges cut so as to form the skews without any moulding or separate coping on the slope, but with a small moulding at the 'putt' or springing. They are crowned with the familiar rose, thistle, and fleur-de-lys finials. Of the Byres Close stone, as these authors note, no trace is now to be found. The dated dormer stone bears a shield, but if it ever contained arms, these have been erased. The arms of Byres of Coates, according to the Porteous MS. and the Greyfriars tomb, were a chevron between three bees volant arriérée, with the motto 'Rule be one.'¹

Built into the comparatively modern north wing are two fine old lintels, both bearing the initials 'C. C. I.' and 'K. H.,' and dated respectively 1600 and 1601. The text, 'I prays ye Lord for all his Benefitis,' is attached to the stone of later date.

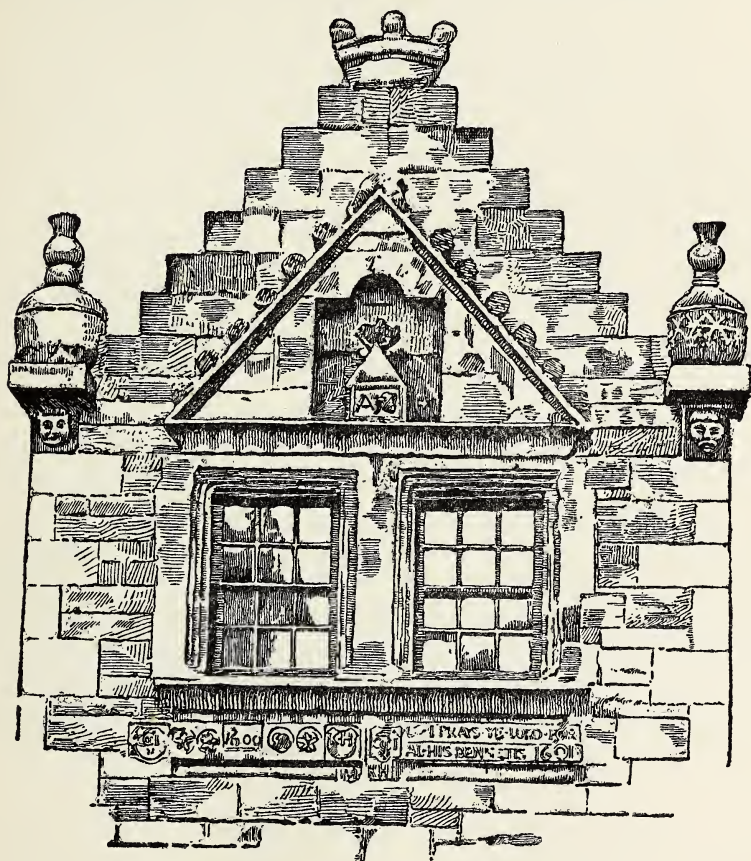


Lintels built into Coates House.

Grant speaks of both lintels as placed on the eastern side of the mansion, so that if he has noted aright, they have suffered a second removal. They are of older date than the house, and have no doubt been taken from a demolished building in the Old Town, although I can give no account of their history. The three initials 'C. C. I.' are unusual for the period, and puzzling. The suggestion might be ventured that the first 'C.' is associated with the device of guild-brotherhood with which the inscription is conjoined, and may signify 'Convener' or 'Councillor.'

¹ *Scottish Arms*, by R. R. Stodart, vol. ii. p. 329.

The pediment, taken from the reputed French Ambassador's Chapel in the Cowgate, offers some curious features. The Chapel stood on the site of the northern piers of the



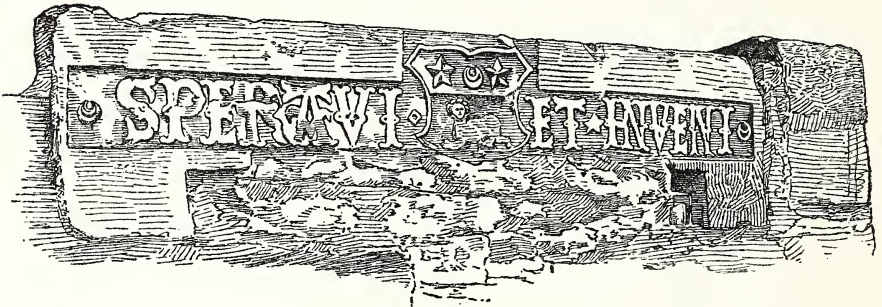
Gable of the 'Apostles' Heads,' Coates House.

George IV. Bridge crossing the Cowgate, and was taken down in 1829. The so-called 'Apostles' heads,' and the mutilated figure straddling the ridge, do not answer to the characters assigned to them. They are rudely carved, and bear more the appearance of the grotesque masks with which

mediæval fancy was wont to decorate the exterior of sacred buildings. Wilson says :—

‘ An ornamental pediment surmounted the western wing, decorated with the heads of the Twelve Apostles, rudely sculptured along the outer cornice, and on the top a figure seated astride, with the legs extended on either side of the cornice. It is supposed to have been designed as a representation of our Saviour, but all the upper part of the figure has been broken away. This pediment, as well as the sculptured lintel of the main doorway, and other ornamental portions of the building, were removed to Coates House, and are now built into different parts of the north wing of that old mansion. But the sculpture which surmounted the entrance to this curious building was no less worthy of notice than its singular pediment, and exhibited no less mysterious and terrible a guardian than a Weir-wolf. It was, indeed, with its motto, “Speravi et Inveni,” no unmeet representation of Bunyan’s Wicket-gate.’

‘ I shall end here four-footed beasts,’ says Nisbet in his *Heraldry*,¹ ‘ only mentioning one with a monstrous form



Weir-wolf Lintel at Coates House.

carried with us. Its body is like a Wolf, with long toes and a tail. It is headed like a Man—called in our books a War-wolf, passant—and three stars in chief argent, which are here seen cut upon a stone above an old entry of a house in the Cowgate of Edinburgh above the foot of Libberton’s Wynd, which

¹ Vol. i. p. 336.

belonged formerly to a family of the name of Dickison, which name seems to be from the Dicksons (of Winkelston) by the stars which they carry.' But, as Wilson points out, the shield bears, not three stars, but a crescent between two stars in chief.

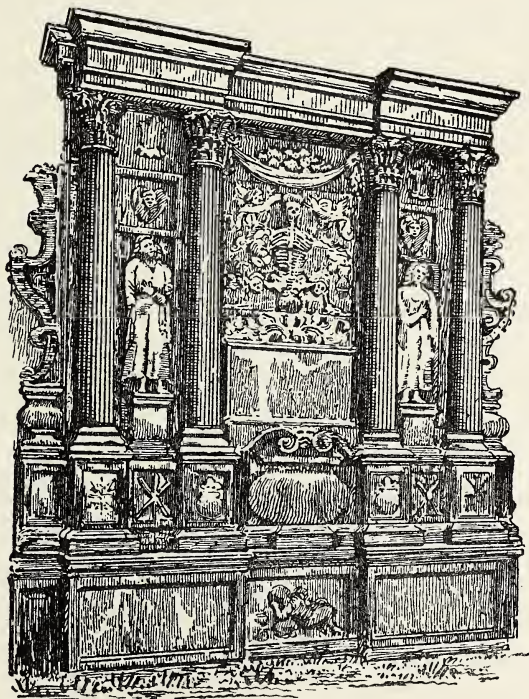
The remarkable lintel is no longer inserted in the north wing, as the quotation from the *Memorials* seems to imply, but is placed over a doorway piercing a wall which connects the east front of Easter Coates House with outbuildings. Note should be taken, as included among the antique features of the building, apparently imported hither, but to which no exact date or origin can be assigned, of a deeply moulded, round-arched door, now built up, and obviously of ecclesiastical character; and a grotesque head and shield device forming the ridge-end of a crow-stepped gable on the east elevation; also of a 'Moor's head' and a large vase enriched with sepulchral symbols of darts and cross-bones, now incorporated, with other fragments of sculpture, in the pediment, and balanced by duplicated reproductions, plainly from the unskilled and careless hand of the modern mason. Other fragments of a renaissance type, consisting chiefly of pilasters and finials, are gathered in a heap on the grounds. The choir practice room, the principal apartment of the north wing, is furnished with a beautiful plaster ceiling, in good preservation, modelled on decorative features and subjects to be found in Melrose Abbey, which might be set down to the latter part of the eighteenth century.

Beyond Coates, at the 'Hay Weights,' now Haymarket, the old highway to the west forked, the road towards Linlithgow and Falkirk bending a little to the right, while the Lanark road branched to the left. It is within the recollection of many that, some forty years ago, the now busy thoroughfare of Dalry Road was a semi-rural highway bordered on one side by piggeries and the like, and on the other by the walls surrounding the manor-house of Dalry. This plain seventeenth-century mansion now stands a little withdrawn behind railings

from the line of Orwell Place, and is occupied by the Scottish Episcopal Training College. It has, of course, lost the seclusion it possessed when the gardens and orchards of this home of the Chieslies of Dalry stretched down to the vicinity of the Haymarket Station, although it is only of recent years that the last of its screening trees disappeared from behind the house. The entrance door is flanked by projecting octagonal towers, each carrying a newel stairway and crowned by an ogee roof. Otherwise it is, considering its date, singularly devoid of outward ornament, while within the only interesting architectural features left are a curious recess, bearing the appearance of an arched and walled oven, and a hand-worked ceiling, of a type, not uncommon in the period and locality, which is still in excellent preservation, though shorn of its fair proportions by a modern partition. It is figured and described in the *Transactions* of the Edinburgh Architectural Association, and it need only be said of it that the royal motto, with its imposing genealogical claims, corresponding to that adopted by James VI. and displayed at Holyrood, and the appropriate emblems of thistles, roses, and fleurs-de-lys, resembling those of the ceilings at Gorgie and Stenhousemill, though they do not appear to have given rise as in these cases to the tradition of a royal visit, might be taken, along with the date '1661' and the initials of the reigning monarch, Charles II., then newly come 'to his ain again,' as provisionally giving the period of the house, and identifying its builder with that Bailie Walter Chieslie whose loyal zeal in connection with the embalming of the body of Montrose is recorded in the first volume of the Old Edinburgh Club.

The lands of Dalry—the 'King's Field'—seem to have been, in the early part of the fourteenth century, conjoined with those of Merchiston in the possession of the Bissets, and, under David II., to have been conveyed by William More of Abercorn to William Touris and to Helenor Bruce, daughter

of the fifth Earl of Carrick, who married Sir William Cunningham of Kilmaurs, a family that became large possessors of land bordering the Water of Leith. The barony was acquired in the sixteenth century by the burgess family of Chieslie, of whom the first that comes prominently into notice was that zealous supporter of the Covenant, Sir John Chieslie, who is said to have been knighted inadvertently by Charles I., and whose



Tomb of Walter Chieslie of Dalry, Greyfriars.

career and character may be gathered by comparing the testimony of Wodrow, who praises him as a 'man of shining piety' with that of Burnet, who describes him as 'a noted fanatic of the time of the Civil War.' Walter Chieslie, the presumed builder of the house, has already been mentioned.

His tomb is in the Greyfriars together with that of his wife, whose epitaph is thus recorded in Monteith's *Theatre of Mortality*: 'Memoriæ charissimæ suæ conjugis, Catherinæ Tod, quæ decessit 27th January 1679. Monumentum hoc extruit marius superstes Walterus Chieslie de Dalry, mercator et civis Edinburgensis.'

Their son was that notorious John Chieslie who shot Sir George Lockhart, the President of the Court of Session, at the entrance to Old Bank Close in the High Street, on the morning of Easter Sunday 1689, and who, caught 'red-handed,' was hung in chains at the Gallowlee with the pistol about his neck with which the crime was committed, while his hand was set on the prick at the West Port. The body was afterwards cut down and secretly disposed of. In a letter of Sir Walter Scott, written from Shandwick Place, on 15th January 1829, he relates as having been told to him by 'Mr. James Walker, then my brother in office and proprietor of Dalry,' that Chieslie's body was carried off from the place where he was gibbeted, 'not far from his own house, somewhere about Drumsheuch'; and that 'a good many years since some alterations were being made on the house of Dalry when, on enlarging a closet or cellar in the lower story, a discovery was made of a skeleton, and some fragments of iron,' generally supposed to be the relics of the murderer. A different and more circumstantial account from that given by Scott from his 'recollection' is that furnished by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, also on the authority of a proprietor of the house, his grandfather, William Kirkpatrick of Allisland, which is to this effect that the servants were afraid to venture alone into the back kitchen after dark under the belief that Chieslie's bones had been carried off and buried there by his relatives, and that the ghost of the murderer haunted the spot: 'On his grandfather repairing the garden wall at a later period, an old stone seat, which stood in a recess in the wall had to be removed, and underneath was found a skeleton, entire, except

the bones of the right hand—without doubt the remains of the assassin, that had been secretly brought thither from the Gallowlee.’¹

Chieslie’s daughter Rachel was that unfortunate Lady Grange, wife of James Erskine, a lord of Session and brother of ‘Mar of the Rebellion,’ who at the instigation of her husband (alarmed, it is said, by her threats of discovering Jacobite plots in which he was concerned and also by her reminder that she was ‘John Chieslie’s daughter’) was abducted from her house in the lower High Street by Lovat’s clansmen, and carried away to remote islands of the Hebrides, where she remained hidden from the world till her death. His son, Major Chieslie, sold the lands early in the eighteenth century to Sir Alexander Brand, who has left his name and mark on the west end of Fountainbridge, and they afterwards, as has been seen, came into the possession of the Kirkpatricks of Allisland and afterwards of the Walkers, one of whom was a Clerk of Session along with Scott.

It was at Dalry House, in John Chieslie’s time, that a famous case of ‘hame-sucken’ took place, some officers of Claverhouse’s Regiment having, in April 1682, ‘invaded’ him in his own house, wounded and beaten him and his servants, and turned his horses out of the stables. There was a counter-charge that the soldiers had only gone to fetch Dalry’s proportion of horses’ straw for the King’s troops, and that he and his men had fallen upon them with ‘graips’ and pitchforks, and had broken their swords and wounded some of them. The right appears to have been this time on Chieslie’s side, as his chief assailants were punished, and Fountainhall cites the case as an example of military insolence.

Mr. John Kay and Mr. F. A. Chrystal have kindly furnished the photographs from which the illustrations are reproduced.

JOHN GEDDIE.

¹ Wilson, vol. i. p. 179; vol. ii. p. 215.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SURVIVAL :
THE WAGERING CLUB, 1775

LORD ROSEBERY, in the course of his address to the members of the Old Edinburgh Club, at their annual meeting, when moving the adoption of the first Annual Report, adverted to the lack of detailed information regarding many of the old social clubs which bulked so largely in the social life of Edinburgh during the eighteenth century. His Lordship pointed out that although these now defunct clubs were innumerable, and must have possessed records in some shape or form, no attempt had been made towards the publication of any of these records, and he added that if such records could be found and placed at the disposal of the Club, it might be well to print and preserve them.

Now it so happens that although all, or nearly all, the social clubs which flourished in Edinburgh during the end of the eighteenth and well on into the first quarter of the nineteenth century have disappeared, there still exists one, 'The Wagering Club,' which had a unique and vigorous existence in the eighteenth century, and still flourishes on the lines of its original constitution. Its records, moreover, have been carefully inscribed and preserved. Many of these have an old-world flavour, and it may therefore interest our readers to know something of the history, character, and objects of this survival of old Edinburgh social life and customs.

The Wagering Club was founded in January 1775. This was within a few months after the death of Robert Fergusson,

who was himself a member of 'The Cape Club,' the praises of which he sung in his poem of 'Auld Reekie.' That club is described at some length in Wilson's *Memorials of Edinburgh*,¹ and it is also referred to, along with a number of other similar clubs, in Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*.²

The general characteristics and purposes of all these clubs are too well known to require any description here. Readers of the social histories of the period, and of Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannering*, must be familiar with the kind of revelry and high jinks which were the leading features of all or most of these clubs, varying only in minor particulars. Their main object was social amusement, relaxation from ordinary duties, combined with a good deal of licence, junketing, and an entire freedom from conventionality as now regarded.

While most of the clubs referred to appear to have held their convivial meetings at short intervals or at irregular times, just as the members happened to forgather at some well-known tavern or familiar howff, the Wagering Club started its existence on quite different and on well-defined lines. The first passage in its 'Constitution and Laws,' under date 20th January 1775, recorded in the minute-book of the club, runs thus:—

'Those whose names are annexed having resolved to promote friendly and social intercourse by a convivial meeting to be held on the last Saturday of January yearly, under the title of The Wagering Club, agree to the following Rules for that Institution.'

Then follow the rules and regulations along with the names of the original members, twelve in number. These regulations indicate the general characteristics of the club, and they are still, with only slight modifications, adhered to as its fundamental constitution and regulations.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 16.

² Vol. ii. p. 237 *et seq.*

REGULATIONS.

1775.

- 1st. The number of the Members shall not exceed Thirty.
- 2nd. In case a Member shall withdraw, or decline attendance, another may be introduced, on the recommendation of any three of the remaining members.
- 3rd. The Preses shall be changed at each meeting, and the chair, as much as possible, supplied in rotation by the Junior Members.
- 4th. The Preses of the one annual meeting shall be Croupier at the next. The Member appointed Preses shall have the exclusive power of fixing the place of meeting, and ordering the entertainment, have the custody of the sealed record of the Bets laid for the ensuing year, and roll of Members annually made up, and shall be obliged to give ten days' previous notice to every Member on that roll of the time and place of next meeting.
- 5th. The great object being to keep up acquaintance and promote mirth and good-fellowship, the Bets laid shall not exceed the value of one bottle wine or half a mutchkin of punch for each person wagering.
- 6th. Should any on the roll, being in Town and in health, not attend the meeting, nor empower a Member to clear off his Bets, he shall be considered as withdrawing, and his name omitted in the list annually made up.
- 7th. One Bet to be laid for the ensuing year after reading out each Bet of the preceding, and all Bets and forfeitures to be instantly paid.
- 8th. Should any Bet be so expressed as to be unintelligible, or not have a specific alternative, both the parties and the Clerk shall incur a forfeiture. In all cases the majority of those present shall decide.
- 9th. Each intrant to pay to the amount of a Bet at the first meeting he attends, and should any Member not lose one Bet at any meeting, he shall pay a forfeiture of equal amount, and all Bets and forfeitures shall go in aid of the Bill.
- 10th. The Bill shall be called at ten o'clock in the evening, proportioned, paid, finally settled, and the next Preses nominated before the meeting closes or breaks up.
- 11th. That none shall be appointed Preses and custodier of the Roll and Bets for the next annual meeting, unless the Member so

appointed be present at sealing up the Roll and Bets for the ensuing year.

January 20th, 1775.

(Signed) WILLIAM MUIRHED, Brushmaker,
 HUGH PRINGLE, Farmer, Woolmet.
 WILLIAM GILLESPIE, Merchant.
 JAMES BOWIE, Grocer.
 JOHN HUTCHISON, Merchant.
 JAMES JOLLIE, Writer.
 JAMES FYFFE, Merchant.
 ALEXANDER ZEIGLER, Jeweller.
 GEORGE JOLLIE, Taylor.
 JAMES BROWN, Staymaker.
 BAIN WHYT, Writer.
 JAMES SIMPSON, Bookseller.

The progress of the club from that time has been a gradual growth modified by the changing conditions, to some extent, in the social habits of the community. To compare small things with great, it may be said of the club what Freeman says of the British constitution, that its changes have not been by 'bringing in of anything wholly new, but by the development and improvement of something that was already old.' In the history of the Wagering Club, as I shall show, there have been, in the midst of minor alterations, a regular continuity of purpose and an unbroken line of sentiment in its character. In January 1828, the date of the annual meeting was changed from the last Saturday in January to the last Monday of that month in each year, and has so continued since. Saturday night, at the date of the institution of the club, appears to have been a favourite time for such meetings. It will be remembered that it was on a Saturday night Colonel Mannering found Pleydell at his club.

The founder of the club was Bain Whyt, whose name appears second last on the list just quoted. At the date of its institution he was about twenty-eight years of age and was practising as a Writer in the city. He had served an apprenticeship with a Mr. Robert Jamieson, a W.S., but he was

not admitted as a member of the W.S. Society until 10th March 1789. He appears to have attained a position of some prominence in the social life and public affairs of the city in his time. When the Edinburgh Volunteers of 1794 were embodied, he was appointed a lieutenant in the regiment, and his name appears first on the list of lieutenants printed in Kay's *Edinburgh Portraits*.¹ His contemporaries must have regarded him as a gentleman of ability and force of character, for he was, shortly after the above date, promoted to the rank of captain in his regiment, and appointed to the responsible position of adjutant of the corps. In that capacity he drew up and signed the somewhat famous and interesting regimental orders which were issued to his regiment in October 1803, and which are printed at length in Cockburn's *Memorials of his own Time*.² Whyt died on 26th December 1818 and was buried in the West Church burying-ground, where a monument, still standing, was erected to his memory bearing the following inscription :—

SACRED
TO THE MEMORY OF
BAIN WHYT, ESQ^r.
WRITER TO THE SIGNET
whose
Happy flow of humour
moral worth and genuine Kindness
endeared
him to all his friends
whose
Integrity, soundness of judgment
and accuracy in business
secured
him general confidence and respect
whose
Public spirit displayed
in perilous times
entitled
him to the gratitude of his
country.

He died 26th December 1818
Aged 71 years.

¹ Vol. i. p. 237.

² P. 187.

As already explained, the date of meeting was changed, in 1828, from the last Saturday in January to the last Monday in that month, and the annual meetings have since been held continuously on the last Monday of January in each year down to the present time, with the single exception of the year 1901, when the meeting was abandoned in consequence of the death of Her Majesty Queen Victoria on 22nd January of that year.

The preses or chairman of each meeting had, and still has, the right of fixing the place for holding the annual meeting, and the records contain a complete list of the various taverns and hotels in which the meetings were held. This list is interesting in so far as it indicates in some degree the growth and change in the social habits and conditions of Edinburgh life in the advancing years. The meeting for the year 1776, being the first annual meeting after the institution of the club in 1775, was held in 'Matthew Thomson's Tavern, Old Post House Close,' and the following meetings were held in the same tavern down to the year 1779. Thereafter the meetings were held, down to the year 1856, in one or other of the following taverns or hotels. It may be explained in passing that, as in the first instance, the meetings were held in the same tavern for several years in succession, and this will account for some apparent blanks in the dates given in the following list, viz. :—

- 1780. Mrs. Laing's Tavern, Don's Close.
- 1781. Stewart's Tavern, Fish Mercat.
- 1787. Sommer's Tavern.
- 1789. Heron's Tavern, Cowgate.
- 1790. Fortune's Tavern.
- 1793. Metcalf's Tavern.
- 1798. Hunter's Tavern, Writers' Court.
- 1803. Baldchild's King's Arms Tavern.
- 1804. Fortune's Tavern, Princes Street.
- 1808. Ferguson's Tavern, Seller's Close.
- 1809. M'Ewen's Tavern, Royal Exchange.

- 1810. Walker's Hotel, Princes Street.
- 1814. Lord Nelson Tavern, Adam Square.
- 1819. Young's Tavern, Jackson's Close.
- 1825. Douglas Hotel, St. Andrew Square.
- 1828. Black Bull Hotel, Catherine Street.
- 1829. Waterloo Hotel, (Steventon).
- 1833. London Hotel, St. Andrew Square.
- 1834. Exchange Coffee-House.
- 1841. Café Royal, West Register Street, Dewar's.
- 1856. Rainbow Hotel, North Bridge, Anderson's.

It will thus be seen that the exodus of the club from the old town to the new was a gradual process, and that the old town place of meeting was reluctantly abandoned, and the new hotels finally adopted only, after some experimental returns, to the older haunts. During the period of transition, middle-class society in Edinburgh had begun to cease to sup and had elected to dine late. Since the last date above mentioned the meetings have been held in one or other of the modern hotels in the New Town.

The membership of the club has been recruited from almost every section of the community. Lawyers, accountants, artists, architects, learned doctors, merchants, shipowners, farmers, printers, bankers, tanners, and master tradesmen in every branch of business, so that its constitution has been based on a thoroughly broad and democratic footing, the only condition of membership being that the candidate should be possessed of the spirit of good-fellowship. By the authority of the committee at varying intervals, permission has, from time to time, been granted to members to bring with them to the annual gathering one or more guests, a favour eagerly sought for, and a guest so introduced at one meeting became *ipso facto* a member of the club thereafter so long as he complied with its regulations.¹

As time went on, the membership of the club thus in-

¹ The members enrolled from first to last number about 800 in all.

creased greatly until now, when it stands at over 125, which speaks strongly for its vitality and popularity.

It may be mentioned in passing that the office of chairman has been held by many prominent citizens. Judges of the Court of Session, sheriffs, and members of all the legal bodies, artists, doctors of divinity, professors, architects, merchants, and others eminent in various walks of life have occupied the position of chairman, and their names are duly recorded in the minutes. The alternation of chairman from a member of the professional class in one year to a member of the commercial class in the next year, and so on throughout, is yet another illustration of the broad, comprehensive character of the membership of the club.

The bets or wagers which gave the club its distinctive title were, and are, conducted on an entirely novel and peculiar principle. The winners of wagers made no profit on their bets, and received no money. The stakes, as above explained, were of very limited amount. Those who lost had to pay the sum of one shilling, but it did not go into the pocket of the winners, but into the common fund of the club. Out of this fund the ordinary expenses of management, usually very trifling, were met. From time to time the committee have been enabled to contribute grants to some of the public charities and philanthropic institutions in the city. The method of conducting the bets is as follows:—Lists of the selected bets containing two columns for signatures, the one for affirmative and the other for negative, are circulated at the meeting, and each member enters his name in one or other of the columns. When the lists are fully signed they are enclosed in sealed packets, which are reopened by the president and committee on the eve of the next annual meeting of the club, when the bets are decided and the fines and losses paid and collected.

Naturally various changes have been made in regard to many details in connection with the club arrangements in

addition to the alteration of the date of the annual meeting. The number of bets at each meeting has been reduced, and the fines to be imposed for delinquencies, real or imaginary, have been altered. Thus the stakes have been changed from 'the value of a bottle of wine or half a mutchkin of punch,' as originally fixed, to the sum of one shilling for each bet, and the number of wagers prescribed for each meeting, which originally mounted up to twelve or fifteen, and in the earlier years were never less than six, were, in 1850, reduced to four in number. One of these four referred to the *minimum* price of consols on a fixed date immediately before the next meeting, and another to the average price of wheat in the Edinburgh Market on the Wednesday immediately preceding the next ensuing meeting of the club. Those two bets have ever since remained as standard wagers in each year, and from the records the average price of wheat in the Edinburgh Market, and the price of consols in January of each year can be ascertained from the minute-book. In the earlier years of the club the grain wager referred to the average price of meal in the Edinburgh Market per boll in place of wheat per quarter, which of itself indicated a change in the national fare of the community.

The remaining two bets were, and are, now confined, as most of the earlier bets were, to (1) matters of national, international, or imperial importance, and (2) to subjects of local, social, or personal interest. It is impossible within the limits at our disposal to enumerate all, or even a large proportion of the many subjects, interesting historically or otherwise, though many of them be, with which the bets deal, throughout the long period of the club's existence. I must, therefore, content myself with making a limited selection of those best calculated to give some idea of the general character of the wagers from time to time. From one of the earliest minutes (1781) I select the following typical examples. The report is imperfect inasmuch as it does not record the decision arrived

at in, at least, the first four bets. The same defect is found in a number of the bets during succeeding years ; and in making selections I have, for the most part, taken the wagers which have had the decision recorded in the minutes.

Saturday, 27th January 1781.

STEWART'S TAVERN, FISH MERCAT.

MR. HUGH PRINGLE, *Preses*.

No.

1. That William Miller, Esqr., shall be the sitting member for the City of Edinburgh during the present Parliament, and that his election shall be declared before next meeting. He was not.
2. That Deacon Robert Phin's election shall be declared illegal before next meeting. It was not.
3. That the *Resolution* privateer shall by prizes pay herself and indemnify the subscribers to her outfit before the 1st January 1782. She did not.
4. That the island of Ceylon shall be taken from the Dutch by the British forces, and that accounts to that effect shall be received before the next meeting. It was not taken.
5. That Miss Jardine shall be married before the 1st January 1782.
6. That Miss Mary Currie shall be married before the 1st January 1782.
7. That Lord George Gordon shall not be acquitted upon his trial at London. He was acquitted.
8. That Miss Marion or Menie Selkrig shall be married before the 1st of January 1782. She was not.
9. That there shall be a cessation of hostilities between Great Britain and the Dutch before the 1st August 1781. There was none.

Many matters of historical interest, both imperial and local, have been the subject of wagers during the succeeding years ; and as indicative of the national, international, and political questions attracting general public attention at various periods throughout the earlier history of the club, I cull the following additional examples from the minutes :—

1783.

That the preliminaries toward a general peace shall be signed and accounts to that effect arrive in Edinburgh before the next meeting. Peace concluded.

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That Mr. Chancellor Pitt shall propose and carry his intended motion for a more equal representation of the people in Parliament before next year. He did not.

1784.

That the Honble. Charles James Fox shall be a member of administration before 1st April next. He was not.

1786.

That Mr. Pitt shall be Prime Minister of Great Britain before next meeting. He was.

1788.

That before the next meeting Mr. Hastings shall be acquitted of the charges brought against him in the House of Lords. He was not.

1792.

That France shall be invaded during this year. It was.
 That the Duchess of York shall have issue before 20th January 1793. She had not.
 That Mrs. Fitzherbert shall not be publicly known as resident in London on the 20th January 1793. (No note.)

1795.

That Great Britain shall be at war with France before next meeting. She was.

1798.

That Buonaparte shall not be alive or known to be in existence on 26th January 1799. He was.

1799.

That the French forces shall attempt a descent on Great Britain or Ireland and put some troops on shore before 1st January next.

1800.

That there shall be an Imperial Parliament for the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland before next meeting called in consequence of their union. There was.
 That Buonaparte shall be alive at next meeting. ¹ He was.

¹ This bet was repeated every year afterwards until 1822, when the answer is recorded. He was dead.

1808.

That there shall be peace between Great Britain and France before
next meeting. No peace.

That the Prince and Princess of Wales shall be reconciled and living
together before next meeting. They were not.

1811.

That Great Britain and America shall be at declared war before next
meeting. Not.

1814.

That Great Britain and America shall be at peace by next meeting.
Peace, but not finally ratified.

1818.

That the Scottish Crown shall not be found in the investigation about
to be proceeded with respecting the ancient Regalia of Scotland.
It was.

1825.

That Louis the Eighteenth of France shall be alive at next meeting.
He was not.

1829.

That the Right Honble. Robt. Peel shall be Premier of the adminis-
tration at next meeting. He was not.

1830.

That the Duke of Wellington shall be Premier of the administration
at next meeting. He was.

1832.

That Poland shall be an independent state at next meeting.
She was not.

1834.

That Earl Grey shall be Premier at the date of the next meeting.
He was.

1836.

That the five great Powers of Europe shall be at peace with each other
at date of next meeting. They were.

1837.

Whether the present war in Spain betwixt Don Carlos and the Queen
of Spain shall be at an end before next meeting.
It was not.

1838.

That Parliament shall be dissolved before next meeting.

It was.

1839.

That Lord Melbourne shall be Premier at date of next meeting.

He was.

1840.

Shall Queen Victoria be married before the next meeting of the club ?

She was not.

1841.

The Queen having signified her intention of allying herself in marriage with Prince Albert of Saxe-Coburg, shall she have given birth to a living child before the date of next meeting ?

Her Majesty has—to a Princess.

1842.

Will Her Majesty have a son betwixt and next meeting of the club ?

Her Majesty has had a Prince.

It is important to bear in mind that the bets were made in the January of the year preceding the dates as given in every instance when the results of the wagers were determined and recorded.

Turning to purely local affairs, and to what may be described as personal or society matters in Edinburgh extending over a period prior to the middle of last century, the following may be taken as typical specimens of wagers of this class running through the whole period of the club's existence from first to last. Interesting as those above narrated are in relation to general historical events, those of a local nature are even more interesting in connection with the objects of the present club, viz. to preserve matters of interest in the local social history of the city.

1780.

That the Trained Bands of Edinburgh shall be armed under public authority with firearms and military accoutrements within twelve months.

They were not.

That Miss Halket, niece of the late Miss Fletcher, shall be married in the course of the year. She was not.

1782.

That James Hunter Blair, Esq., shall be Lord Provost of Edinburgh at Michaelmas election, 1782. He was not.

That a Toll-bar shall be erected betwixt Edinburgh and Musselburgh beyond Jock's Lodge before 20th January 1783. It was not.

1783.

That Miss Jane Campbell Blythswood shall be married before 25th January 1784. She was not.

1784.

That James Stirling, Esq., shall be Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the Michaelmas election, 1784.

He was not. James Hunter Blair was.

That Robert Dundas of Arniston shall not be Lord President of the Court of Session in January 1785. He was.

That Mr. Robert Walker, minister of Cramond, shall repent of his accepting a presentation to the Church of Canongate before January 1785. Decided he did not.

1785.

That the Countess of Sutherland shall be married before 20th January 1786. She was.

That the South Bridge shall be fixed upon so as to be carried into execution by the 20th January 1786. It was.

1786.

That Mr. William Nairne, Advocate, shall be appointed to supply the present vacancy in the Court of Session betwixt and 20th January 1787. He was.

That Mr. Archibald MacDowall shall be Lord Provost of Edinburgh at the Michaelmas election, 1787.

He was not. John Grieve was Provost.

That a bill shall be brought in during the present Session of Parliament for removing the Luckenbooths. It was not.

That Mr. Mackenzie of Port Patrick shall be presented to the present vacancy in the Greyfriars Church, Edinburgh, before 20th January next. He was not.

1787.

That the plan for the improvement of the harbour of Leith shall be begun to be put in execution before 1st January 1788.

It was not.

That before next meeting good claret shall be sold as cheap as good port now is.

It was not.

That none of the areas of South Bridge Street to the south of the Cowgate Arch shall be sold so high as £1900, the price of the cheapest lot or area already sold to the north of that Arch.

None did.

That Miss Penelope Macdonald Clanronald shall be married before next meeting.

She was not.

1788.

That the members of the College of Justice shall before next meeting be subjected in Burgh taxes as inhabitants of Edinburgh.

They were not.

That a spire for the Church of St. Cuthbert's shall be begun before next meeting.

It was not.

1789.

That Sir Henry Moncreiffe shall be appointed Almoner for Scotland before next meeting.

He was not.

1792.

That Bailie George Kinnear shall be married to Miss Robertson before next meeting.

He was not.

That Stephen Kemble shall be tacksman or acting manager of the Theatre Royal, Edinburgh, by next meeting.

He was not.

That Miss Hamilton of Bangour shall be married before next meeting.

She was.

1795.

That William Creech shall be a member of the Town Council of Edinburgh at Michaelmas 1795.

(No note.)

1796.

That Count D'Artois shall be resident in Edinburgh or Holyrood House on 28th January next.

He was.

1800.

That one of the four Royal Edinburgh Volunteer Regiments now embodied shall be disbanded before this day twelve months.

None were.

1804.

That James Jackson, Esq., shall be Lord Provost of the City of Edinburgh at first election. He was not.

1806.

That Mr. Robert Blair shall neither be Solicitor-General nor Lord Advocate of Scotland at next meeting. He was neither.

1807.

That Mr. John Clerk shall not be Solicitor-General at next meeting. He was not.

1808.

That Deacon Auchterlonie shall be Deacon Convener of the Trades of Edinburgh at the next meeting. He was.

1810.

That Miss Ramsay, daughter of Mr. David Ramsay, *Courant* Office, shall be married before next meeting. She was not.

1812.

That Miss Ramsay, eldest of Barnton, shall be married before next meeting. She was not.

1813.

That of the unmarried members of the club one shall be married before next meeting. None.

1814.

That the Wellington Bridge, in continuation of Princes Street over the Calton, shall be in progress under authority previous to next meeting. It was.

1815.

That the Most Noble the Marquis of Bute shall be married before this day twelvemonth. He was not.

1819.

That Miss Dewar, eldest of Vogrie, shall be married before next meeting. She was not.

That there shall be a vacancy on the bench of the Court of Session. There was a vacancy.

1822.

That Miss Allan, eldest of Hillside, shall be married before next meeting. She was not.

1826.

That there shall be a vacancy on the bench of the Court of Session before next meeting. There was. Lord Medwyn new Judge.

1831.

/ That the keystone of the centre arch of King George's Bridge over the Cowgate shall be fixed before next meeting. It was not.

1832.

That a railway betwixt Edinburgh and Glasgow shall be commenced before next meeting. It was not.

That Lady Margaret Douglas Scott, sister of the Duke of Buccleuch, shall be married before next meeting. She was not.

1834.

That Francis Jeffrey shall be Lord Advocate at the date of next meeting. He was.

1835.

That a ship will be direct from China to Leith before next meeting. There was not.

1836.

That the required accommodation for steam-vessels at Leith, Trinity, Wardie, or Granton shall be afforded or finally determined upon by Parliament before next meeting. It was not.

1837.

That passengers from the London steam-vessels shall be landed at Granton Pier without the aid of small boats by next meeting. They were not.

1839.

That a Railway Bill between this and Glasgow will be passed betwixt and next meeting. It was.

Will Miss Burdett-Coutts be married before the date of next meeting? She was not.

1841.

Will the question whether Leith shall have a harbour by a new western or eastern passage be determined before next meeting—to be a low-water entrance?

There being nothing decided as to either an eastern or a western entrance the meeting found the bet had no alternative. All subscribers fined in terms of rule eighth of the club.

1844.

Will the new Water Company lately formed in Edinburgh be incorporated by Act of Parliament before this day twelvemonth ?

It is not.

1846.

Will the company lately formed, called the Caledonian Railway Company, obtain an Act of Parliament incorporating them before next meeting ?

They have.

The extracts thus gathered from the club minute-book sufficiently indicate the general character of the wagers and the manner in which the distinctive affairs of the club have been conducted. That it should have continued in existence in an unbroken continuity, with only minor changes, accommodating itself to altered social conditions, from 1775 to the present day, is remarkable enough, in conjunction with its special features, to entitle it to a notice in the pages of *The Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*.

JAS. B. SUTHERLAND.

AT THE BACK OF ST. JAMES'S SQUARE

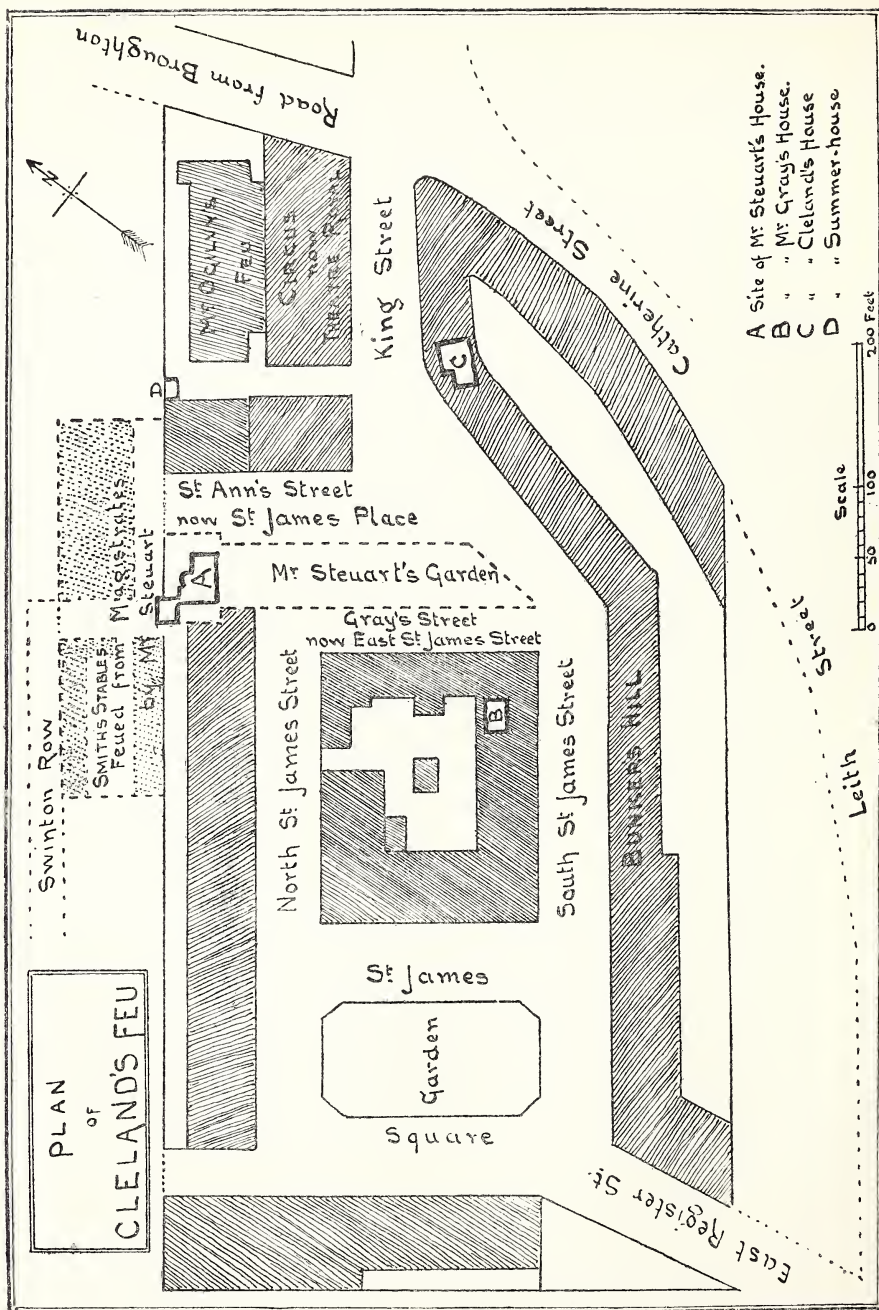
‘THE oldest house at present existing in the New Town is that small tenement in North James’s Place, behind the Roman Catholic Chapel, and close to the door of Mr. Smith’s Livery-stables. It was a solitary house in the country, for many years before the extension of the city was resolved upon.’ Thus wrote Dr. Robert Chambers in 1825,¹ and Sir Daniel Wilson in 1848,² referring to the same house, says: ‘A rural mansion, which occupied, in former days, the north-eastern slope of Moutrie’s Hill, still remains, a curious waif, surviving the radical changes that have transformed the silent fields in which it stood into populous streets and squares.’

The house thus described stood for fully half a century after Wilson wrote, being finally demolished in 1904; and it may be of interest to record some of the facts connected with its erection.

In 1734, John Cleland, gardener at Canonmills, acquired from Heriot’s Hospital a feu of five acres of the lands of Broughton on the north slope of Moutrie’s Hill. The feu embraced the ground lying between the Register House, Swinton Row, Broughton Street, Catherine Street, and the back of Leith Street Terrace. Cleland enclosed the ground, formed it into a garden which he planted with fruit trees, etc. He also built a house on a site near the west end of Little King Street. Hence the district came to be known as

¹ *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. i. p. 63.

² *Memorials of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 151.



Cleland's Yards or Garden. The main features of the enclosures are preserved in Craig's Plan of the New Town, published in 1767. The plan shows that it was traversed by a road leading from the hamlet of Moutrie's Hill towards Broughton, which followed the line of East Register Street, South St. James's Street, and Little King Street.

Although the North Bridge was still only existent in the mind of the far-seeing Provost Drummond, some of the inhabitants of the closes of the Old Town were already feeling the need of fresher air, and Cleland was not long in having applications for sub-feus of his possession. Robert Gray, Writer in Edinburgh—descended from the Grays of Halkerston in Angus—in 1753 acquired the highest part of the ground, upon which he built a house on a site now embraced by the north side of South St. James's Street. The situation of his house and garden are clearly depicted on Craig's Plan. Walter Ferguson, another Writer, and Malcolm Ogilvy, became proprietors of the ground at the head of the road from Broughton, on which now stand the Roman Catholic Cathedral and the Theatre-Royal.

This left a long narrow strip of quarter of an acre enclosed with hedges lying between what, in course of time, came to be Gray Street or East St. James's Street and St. James's Place. In 1748, Cleland leased this quarter acre in his 'great garden' to John Douglas, Armourer or Sword-slipper (sword-cutler) in Edinburgh, who built a house thereon. In 1753 the rights of Douglas were acquired by Thomas Ruddiman, the famous scholar and Keeper of the Advocates' Library. Upon the ground so acquired Ruddiman built 'for his own dwelling' the house referred to by Chambers and Wilson in the passages quoted above. He did not, however, long live to enjoy his new residence, for in 1757 he passed away full of years and honour, and the house was settled upon his only daughter, who, at the age of seventeen, had married James Steuart, Writer in Edinburgh.

In the age when the inhabitants were used to the Old Town courts and closes, the house at Cleland's Yards must have appeared an approach to the luxurious. The building was of three stories, and the rooms, though small, were numerous, those in the attics being reached by a turnpike stair housed in an outside tower. The principal rooms were panelled, and behind the wainscots and shutters were concealed curious cupboards, enough to make glad the hearts of many housewives of a later age. Though the front of the house looked southward, the back windows must have commanded a wide prospect towards the sea and the Fife hills. To preserve the amenity half an acre to the north of the house was feued from the Town, and Mr. Steuart acquired from Alexander Shields, farmer in Broughton, a tack of several acres of the adjoining land on the west side of Broughton Loan. But the pleasant country-house, with its stable, byre, and hen-house, was soon to be robbed of its rural character. The North Bridge was finished in 1769. On 3rd August of that year Mr. Steuart's youngest daughter was baptized in the house. One of the witnesses who was present at the ceremony, changing his original purpose, instead of returning by the bridge, took the old familiar road to the Old Town by Leith Wynd. This probably saved his life, for, as he was in the middle of the Wynd, the south part of the bridge fell. By this serious accident the progress of building in the New Town was somewhat delayed, but in 1772 the bridge was finally opened for traffic.

In the following year Mr. Ferguson, already mentioned, who had, in 1762, acquired the rights retained by Cleland, formed a plan of erecting buildings, in the form of a square, upon his area adjoining the Register Office. This the Governors of Heriot's Hospital unsuccessfully tried to frustrate by founding on a clause in the contract with Cleland, which, they contended, prevented the garden from being used in any other way ' than by the ordinary labour of plough



HOUSE IN CLELLAND'S GARDENS.

and spade.'¹ Following upon the success of Mr. Ferguson's defence the first street of houses was built on Cleland's Yards by Mr. Gray, on the south side of South St. James's Street, in 1775. While the foundation-stone was being laid a salute was fired from the Castle to celebrate the victory of the British forces over the revolted Americans at Bunker's Hill, and hence the street was at first known as *Bunker's Hill*.² East St. James's Street was known as Gray Street as late as 1796, the origin of the name being obvious. Mr. Ferguson advertised his ground to feu in five lots in April 1786. It appears probable that Catherine Street and Swinton Row, in which he had rights, were named after Mrs. Catherine Swinton, his wife.

As the Yards were quickly covered with houses, the old mansion was overshadowed and hemmed in by the high tenements which soon surrounded it. Now that the old house has disappeared it may be permitted once again to recall some of the associations connected with it. When it was built, the rising of 'forty-five' was but a thing of yesterday. At the time Prince Charles Edward entered the city Thomas Ruddiman was an old man of seventy-one, but yielded to none in his loyalty to the Stuart race. Although he saw the Prince 'but once, and that not above two minutes,' he was of no small service to the cause, as the *Caledonian Mercury*, of which he was proprietor and publisher, did not fear to publish the accounts of the progress of the Highland army. The newspaper was also used as one of the chief means of publishing the proclamations of the Prince, and various broadsides and manifestoes still in existence were printed at his press. Well might he bear a grudge against the Government, for his only son, arrested and confined in the Tolbooth, on account of a paragraph in the *Mercury*, of

¹ Faculty Collection of Decisions, 30th July 1773.

² For a somewhat different account of the derivation of the name, see Chambers's *Traditions*, vol. i. p. 73.

which he was manager, failed to recover from the effect of his imprisonment, and shortly afterwards died. If his sister, Mrs. Steuart, could not take an active part in the hostilities, she at least was taught to erase the name of King George from her prayer-book, and her husband was no less loyal to the King *de jure*; indeed, tradition relates that he held some office under the Prince, of whom he is described as 'a personal friend.' Needless to say, he was a member of the persecuted Episcopal Church, and when the Penal Laws prohibited more than five persons, besides the family, from meeting together for service performed by a minister of the Episcopal communion, he was wont to open the windows of his house in an Old Town close to get the benefit of the service conducted in an adjoining building. He for a time acted as treasurer to the Episcopal Chapel in Carrubber's Close, and his son was one of the principal founders of the first Episcopal church in the New Town, St. George's in York Place, built in 1792, the year of the abolition of the Penal Statutes. The Jacobites in these perilous times drew close together, joined by interest in the common cause; and in the district of which we write numerous followers of the Stuarts were congregated. Indeed, it is said—we know not with what of truth—that St. James's Square and Streets were named after him whom they loved to look upon as James the Eighth, and the adjoining King Street might have served to commemorate more kings than one. Mr. Gray (whose son-in-law, John Smyth of Balharry, was 'out' in the '45) and Mr. Ferguson were among those still loyal to the exiled house, and the number included Thomas Erskine—afterwards ninth Earl of Kellie—whose house stood near the site of St. James's Place Church, and where, apparently, his uncle, Sir William Erskine of Cambo, had previously resided. These staunch Jacobites were wont to meet annually in Mr. Steuart's house to celebrate the birthday of Prince Charles. Mr. Erskine had six glasses made, having upon them a coloured repre-

sentation of the Prince, for drinking his health. Another glass used upon the same occasions had engraved upon it 'Send him victorious, Happy and Glorious, Soon to Reign over us, God Save the King. Amen. Prosperity to the Bank of Scotland. A Bumper in Memory of Mr. David Drummond.' The latter part of the inscription had reference to the famous David Drummond who held the post of treasurer to the bank for the long period of forty years, and who had acted as custodian of the fund raised for the defence of the prisoners tried after the rising of 1715.

The final meeting was held on 31st December 1787, the last anniversary of the birth of Prince Charles prior to his death. On this occasion the above neighbours were assembled, along with Lawrence Oliphant of Gask, the father of Lady Nairne, and to the supper was bade Robert Burns, then on his second visit to Edinburgh. His acceptance of the invitation, addressed to Mr. Steuart, is dated from his lodgings in St. James's Square, and is in the following terms :—

'SIR,—Monday next is a day of the year with me hallowed as the ceremonies of Religion, and sacred to the memory of the sufferings of my King and my Forefathers. The honour you do me by your invitation I most cordially and gratefully accept.

'Tho' something like moisture conglobes in my eye,
Let no one misdeem me disloyal;
A poor friendless Wanderer may well claim a sigh,
Still more if that Wanderer were royal.

My fathers that Name have rever'd on a throne,
My fathers have died to right it;
Those fathers would spurn their degenerate son,
That name should he scoffingly slight it.

'I am, sir, your oblidged humble servt., ROBT. BURNS.

'St. JAMES'S SQ., Weden. even.'

At the meeting the health of the absent Prince was

pledged in a bumper, and Burns, taking upon himself the office of poet-laureate, recited the verses printed in some of the collections of the poet's works, and beginning :

‘ Afar the illustrious exile roams.’

The opportunity for holding more of these historic meetings was removed by the death of Charles Edward on the 31st of the following month.

Strange it appears to us that the holding of such sentiments towards the exiled house should have been attended with danger little more than a hundred years ago. Yet such was the case, and the Jacobite sympathies of Burns appear to have subjected him to suspicion, and he is said to have been very unwilling to let copies of his verses out of his hands. There are in existence two copies in the handwriting of the daughters of James Steuart of the poet's letter above, both carefully omitting the signature and the name of the addressee, doubtless to avoid detection should they have chanced to fall into wrong hands.

But the house was no longer useful for its original purpose. The New Town was rapidly extending towards Frederick Street and Queen Street. Cleland's Gardens, although not *in* the New Town according to Craig's Plan for the extended city, was still *of* it, and the high tenements of St. James's Square and the adjoining streets towered above the country mansion while Stephen Kemble was contemplating building ‘The Circus,’ afterwards known as Corri's Rooms, on the site of the present Theatre-Royal. Mr. Steuart, following the example of others, sold his ground for building, and in 1791 removed with his family to St. Andrew Square, which Hugo Arnot described as ‘the finest square we ever saw.’ In the same year the magistrates opened the road from Queen Street to Broughton through the field occupied by Mr. Steuart, to the damage of his crop of barley, rye-grass, and clover. Thus the country got merged in the town. The old house was

subdivided to suit new tenants ; workshops and other buildings pressed closer and closer to it till they adhered to its walls like limpets ; and at last, after braving the assaults of the elements and man for more than a century and a half, it was swept away, and its place occupied by useful but unromantic workshops.

JAMES STEUART.

THE EDINBURGH STREET TRADERS AND THEIR CRIES

IT is a somewhat curious fact that while a vast amount has been written on a great variety of aspects of Edinburgh life, comparatively little has been contributed on the subject of the street traders and their cries. Many of the cries were so quaint and beautiful that the mention of any favourite invariably brings a light into the eyes of old inhabitants. Apart, however, from such pleasant recollections, the cries of a city are so closely connected with the social life of the people, that, from an historical point of view, it is desirable that some record of them should be preserved, and it is therefore much to be regretted that, in the case of Edinburgh, such records are so scanty. While a considerable number of the actual cries which were heard on the London streets in the middle of the fifteenth century have been preserved in an old poem entitled 'London Lyckpeny' by John Lydgate, and while from Elizabethan days the London cries have attracted the attention of numerous authors and artists, the literary and artistic treatment of Edinburgh cries has been of a much less generous character. Indeed, it does not appear that any writer or artist made a direct attempt to give the actual words of Edinburgh street cries, or to sketch the figures of the traders until far on in the eighteenth century, when John Kay, the well-known Edinburgh caricaturist, immortalised in his own inimitable way certain quaint street traders of his day. Much of our knowledge of the cries of Edinburgh in early times must therefore be gleaned from sources which offer more indirect information.

In reading the Burgh Records of the sixteenth century the picture conveyed to the mind is that of a growing population of unfreemen, who, in merchandise, are steadily pushing their way into the sacred domain of the freemen ; of a continuous stream of country men and women pouring into the town with sturdy steps and lusty voices, proclaiming loudly to all whom it might concern, and especially to the inhabitants of the high tenements, the fact that they have just arrived with fresh country produce; and of a great variety of itinerant vendors and menders passing through the town. But long before the sixteenth century the conditions of street life were much the same. The great mercantile abuses which the magistrates had for centuries to contend with in Edinburgh as in other towns were those of forestalling and regrating, and it is specially in this connection that we have a great many Burgh Record entries shedding some light on the street vending. In the records of the sixteenth century we find enactments like the following :—No fruit wives to stand on the High Street but on the market day ; no one to buy from strangers coming to the town with fowls, wild or tame, unless such strangers brought the fowls direct to the market ; no unfreeman to sell seeds upon the High Street save upon market days ; the unfreeman bonnet-makers to be separated from the Burgesses and freemen, and to have their stand by themselves upon the market day only. Amid so many restrictions, it is a surprise to find licence granted to one James Brown, an Englishman, to sell to freemen in small quantities, for such reasonable prices as he may get, a quantity of beans brought by him to Leith. There are scores of such entries year after year, and one rises from the perusal of the Burgh Records almost with the conviction of having seen the motley crowds and heard the clamorous din of the vendors making their way up the High Street, with the regret, however, that although the whole scene is so vivid, no record has been bequeathed to us of the actual words of the cries in that far-

off time. Literature, however, is fortunately not altogether silent on the subject, for in the following lines written by the poet Dunbar we have some very valuable references to certain street cries of his time :—

‘ May nane pas throw your principall gaittis
 For stink of haddockis and of scaittis,
 For cryis of Carlingis and debaittis,
 For fensum flyttingis of defame.
 Think ye noch schame
 Befoir strangeris of all estaittis
 That sic dishonour hurt your name.
 At your hie croce quhair gold and silk
 Sould be, thair is bot crudis and milk,
 And at your Tron bot cokill and wilk,
 Pansches, pudingis of Jock and Jame.’

What the particular forms of the various street cries were in Dunbar’s time, we cannot say, but there can be little doubt that many of the cries heard within the last half-century differ from them in no material respect. In the ballad of *The Blithesome Bridal*, written in the seventeenth century, we find the names of many of the articles of food which were in favour in Scotland at that period. Reference is there made to lang kail, salt herring, skate, nout-feet, partans, buckies, speldens, haddocks, flouks, sing’d sheep heads, wilks, dulce and tangle, and paunches, and it is interesting to note that the most of these articles were sold in the streets within the last few decades.

In the *Lamentation of the Commons of Scotland*, written by Robert Sempill and printed in 1572, the carters tell how

‘ Na vther lyfe we pure men bade of better
 Nor with our Naiggis to gane to Edinburgh sone,
 With Peittis, with Turuis and mony turse of Hedder ;
 Ay gat gude saill, syne lap, quhen we had done,
 For mirrynes ; and with the licht of Mone
 We wald ga hame.’

Readers of that old chap-book, *The History of the Haverel Wives*, will remember that Janet Clinker, referring to the Sundays before the Reformation, says: 'We ken'd ay when it came, for my father cow'd ay his beard when the bell rang, and then everybody ran to the Kirk that had onything to do, gin it were to buy saut or shune, for the chapman chiels set up a' their creims at the Kirk door, and the lasses wad a gotten keeking glasses, red snoods, needles, prins, elshinirons, gimblets, brown bread, and black saep, forby sweetie wives' things, and rattles for restless little anes. . . . Ay, ay, there was braw markets on Sunday i' the time o' paepery.' Although this was not written with particular reference to Edinburgh, it nevertheless gives an idea of the kind of sales which took place on the streets in Edinburgh, as well as in other towns, in the sixteenth century, and one can well imagine the chorus of cries of which even these articles were the occasion.

In the eighteenth century we find the poet Fergusson referring to the 'fishwives' noisy screams,' and desiring to 'roam far from Edina's noise awhile.' His picture of the state of the High Street with its motley crowd of vendors is as follows :—

' Gillespie's snuff should prime the nose
Of her that to the market goes,
If she wad like to shun the smells
That buoy up frae market cells ;
Where wames o' painches' sav'ry scent
To nostrils gie great discontent,
Now wha in Albion could expect
O' cleanliness sic great neglect ?
Nae Hottentot that daily lairs
'Mang tripe, or ither clarty wares,
Hath ever yet conceiv'd or seen,
Beyond the Line sic scenes unclean.'

Sir Walter Scott writes that Colonel Mannering, 'after threading a dark lane or two, reached the High Street, then

clanging with the voices of oyster-women and the bells of piemen ; for it had, as his guide assured him, just “ chappit eight upon the Tron.” Alexander Wilson, the ornithologist, also gives a picture of the street life :—

‘ Here mony a wight, frae mony a place,
 At mony an occupation,
 Exhibits mony a groosome face
 In hurrying consternation,
 Some shakin’ bells,
 Some hammerin’ stells,
 Some cobblin’ shoon in cloysters ;
 Here coaches whirlin’,
 There fishwives skirlin’
 “ Wha ’ll buy my cauler oysters ? ” ’

The writer of *The Fudge Family in Edinburgh* had evidently made only a limited acquaintance with the street cries on his visit to the Scottish capital, but his lines printed in 1820 are worth quoting :—

‘ The London cries you know are pretty,
 As if they all were music taught ;
 But little ’s heard in this fine city,
 Save “ Caller haddies,” “ Ony Saut ” !
 I ’ve got quite larned, stiff, and braw,
 Their language too I understand ;
 And know full well that “ Yaw-a-a,”
 Is famous Scotch for “ Yellow Sand.” ’

So far as is known, however, Kay was, as before mentioned, the first to bring us into close touch with the street cries, for although he had no idea of contributing to a series of portraits of criers, he selected, as it happens, the quaint figures of a few of the street traders of his time as subjects worthy of his pencil. Following on Kay’s work, there appeared, in 1803, an unpretentious paper-covered booklet entitled ‘ Cries of Edinburgh, characteristically represented, accompanied with

views of several principal buildings of the City,' and bearing the following imprint: 'Edin. Published 1st Aug. 1803. Sold by L. Scott, Bookseller, end of College, Drummond Street.' This scarce production contains twenty woodcuts of street traders represented as standing in front of Edinburgh buildings, and below each print there is a quaint explanatory couplet. A number of these cuts are here reproduced as illustrations to this article. A few years later saw Walter Geikie drawing his famous character sketches, and, like Kay, he also found material to his mind in some of the Edinburgh street criers. In addition, the late Mr. James Smith, well known for his humorous Scottish readings, wrote a song entitled ¹ *The Cries o' Edinburgh*, which became very popular, and was frequently sung at Edinburgh gatherings a quarter of a century ago.

The old cries appear to have continued unabated till about the sixties or seventies of last century, after which there seems to have been a gradual decline in the number. Although Dunbar in the fifteenth century, and Fergusson and Wilson in the eighteenth, all hint at the turmoil made by the street traders of their times, it is nevertheless the fact that with the decline of the historic cries much of the romance of street life has departed.

As indicated by Scott, night was the time when the chorus of cries reached its climax, and a number of old Edinburgh citizens are still with us who remember what a busy scene there was in the High Street after it had 'chappit eight upon the Tron.' But readers who wish to get graphic descriptions by eye-witnesses of a winter night in the High Street in those days should turn to certain pages in the letterpress to Geikie's sketches, and to *The Gaberlunzie's Wallet*, by James Ballantine, the Scottish poet. What a change now !

¹ There are two versions appearing respectively in (a) *Poems, Songs, and Ballads* (Blackwood and Sons), and (b) *Jenny Blair's Maunderings* (John Menzies and Co.); the former version was set to music by J. R. Perry (Paterson and Sons).

The long lines of barrows with paper lanterns, the tumult of cries, the busy crowd, and, in the words of Ballantine, the 'lang an' tempting array o' penny shows, ballad singers, speech-criers, baskets o' laces, combs, caps, shoe-ties, an' twopenny mirrors, wi' hurleys fu' o' cherry-cheekit apples an' brown speldings,' have all vanished. The eighteenth and nineteenth century street vendors, and no doubt those of earlier times as well, knew how to attract the passer-by with rhyme, chant, and clever remark, but in Edinburgh this seems now to be a lost art, for although many of the same articles are still sold on the streets, the cries are brief and without character; indeed, there is often no cry. In enumerating the street cries of any city, it must, of course, be kept in view that a number of them are likely to be common within a certain radius of the country, and this fact must not be lost sight of in dealing with the cries of Edinburgh. Further, it must be remembered that in the century following the accession of James VI. to the English throne, many Scottish street traders doubtless took part in the general rush to the English capital. In a political caricature, referred to by Mr. Andrew Tuer in his *Old London Cries*, entitled, *The Peddlars or Scotch Merchants of London*, supposed to have been written in 1763 by the witty Marquis of Townshend and to have had special reference to Lord Bute, the peddlars are represented as marching two and two, the vendors of food being numerous. And no doubt in the greater intercourse between the two countries, some cries, such as those dealing with toys and other small articles, were imported into Scotland. There have always been enterprising English dealers who have come to Edinburgh with specific articles for sale. For instance, some of the older residents remember of an Englishman who came to establish a sale of Chelsea buns. For many days, his cry of 'Chelsea buns, Chelsea buns, Chelsea buns,' rang through the streets; but, although the Chelsea buns had long been famous in London, the Edinburgh

people soon discovered that their own buns were much better than this imported article, and consequently the unfortunate man had to give up selling buns, and direct his energies to the sale of pies. Henceforth his cry was, 'Smoking hot, piping hot, hot mutton pies.' It may be noted in passing that the cry of 'Piping pies' was common both to Edinburgh and London. We are also told of another vendor from across the border, who, in the traditional dress of an English yeoman, went about the town with a wagon, crying, 'Filberts, fine filberts, a shilling a pound.' This also was a well-known London cry.

Although an attempt to fix the date of origin of any cry would be hazardous, yet many of the cries themselves give certain proofs of their antiquity, *e.g.* the reference to the Scottish coins plack and groat, the use of the interrogative form, 'Wha'll buy——?' and of the old Scottish word *rug*. The invitation to 'tak a rug' was equivalent to asking the onlookers to come forward and accept a good bargain. Other indications of age may be found in (*a*) cries which were chanted or intoned; and (*b*) those in which several persons each took a separate part. It is fortunate that a few examples of such cries have been preserved, for although they have not been heard for about forty years, there are still citizens with us who are not only able to repeat the words, but to render the music.

While the artists and writers above referred to have each in their own way contributed much that is valuable, there does not appear ever to have been any attempt to bring together a comprehensive collection of the Edinburgh cries. Had the task been attempted say forty years ago, before modern conditions made such a difference in the number and nature of the cries, much interesting material might have been preserved, but at this late date it is quite impossible to recover anything like a complete collection of the cries which were common even thirty or forty years ago,

and certainly this article can only claim to be a contribution to the subject.

Fish has always formed a large part of the food of Scottish people, and the various cries connected with its sale are no doubt extremely ancient. In bygone days there seems always to have been a steady demand for shell-fish. We have already seen Dunbar's references to the sale of cockles and wilks, and if we turn again to Sempill's *Lamentation*, we shall find the following picture of cockle and other vendors travelling together in somewhat perilous times along the country roads :—

‘ We, sillie pure anis, quhair we wer wont to gang,
With Coillis and Cokillis, with Fische, and sicklyke wair,
Upon our bakis als mekill as we nicht fang,
With mirrie sang all tripping into pairis.’

Even within living memory, the sale of shell-fish was a very great one, and the various cries of ‘Cockles and wulks,’ ‘Wulks an’ buckies,’ and ‘Cockles and mussels,’ were familiar to every citizen. But although these old cries are not now heard, the vendors still remain, and as they sit at their stances at various parts of the Old Town, they form pleasant pictures of old Edinburgh life. Very early in the spring, long before the cold east winds of March have gone, the women take up their positions. Each one has an improvised table, consisting frequently of an orange box, on which are placed saucers containing shell-fish, together with the necessary condiments. It is interesting to note that these stalls are to be found almost solely in the Old Town of Edinburgh, the sellers, notwithstanding the change in the character of the localities, having adhered very closely to the old traditional haunts. Dunbar, as we have seen, writing four hundred years ago, refers to their existence in the vicinity of the Tron, and to this day this is still a favourite locality.

The High Street (especially at the corners of Blackfriars Street, Niddry Street, Cockburn Street, and Jeffrey Street), the Canongate, the Pleasance, and Bristo Port are all well-known stances. In waiting for customers, the industrious vendor may often be seen employing her time in knitting.

The most beautiful of all the shell-fish cries was that of 'Caller oysters.' Although Dunbar does not refer to the oyster-seller, there seems no reason to doubt that the cry is as old as the other shell-fish ones. Oyster-selling women were very numerous in the eighteenth century, when oyster parties were of nightly occurrence, and when the poet Fergusson, adopting the well-known cry, entitled one of his poems 'Caller Oysters.' To meet the requirements of their wealthier customers, the vendors appear to have pursued their calling till very late at night; and Robert Chambers states that so far ran the frolic at parties, that the ladies would sometimes have the oyster-women called in to dance in the ballroom. What scenes occurred at the head of the Fishmarket Close in those days can only be left to the imagination. The oyster-seller has long ago ceased to be a daily visitor to the streets of Edinburgh, but within living memory the cry of



Call - er - Ou!

was as well known as that of 'Caller herrin' ' is at the present day. In the letterpress to Kay's sketch of an oyster-seller, the cry is given as 'Wha'll o' caller ou?' but this was evidently the verbal invitation to the passer-by as distinguished from the musical cry meant to announce the presence of the vendor to pedestrians a street-length away and to the inhabitants in their houses. There are still a few who, speaking from their own recollections, can give many interesting details in regard to the vendors of last century. As is well known, the oyster



'CALLER OU !'



is supposed to be in season in all the months which have the letter R in their names. It was when the nights were 'creepin' in,' therefore, that the oyster-wives, with their creels on their backs, began to climb the hill to Edinburgh. Arriving say about six o'clock, they took up their stances at various parts of the town, usually at some busy corner where there was a lamp, for instance at the corners of Leith Street and Register Street, or near a theatre, such as in Shakespeare Square, each woman being provided with a knife for the purpose of opening the oysters and a bowl of water wherewith to keep her fingers clean. As customers came rapidly forward, for Edinburgh people were then great epicures where oysters were concerned, the sellers, although by practice remarkably dexterous, found all their energies called forth in the work of opening the oysters as quickly as their customers swallowed them. The older shell-fish vendors were in the habit of using a certain amount of respectful familiarity with those who came to purchase from them, sometimes addressing them in such affectionate terms as, 'Come awa, *ma bonnie leddy*,' or to a child, 'Come awa, *ma lamb*,' with much emphasis on the last two words.

When, as frequently was the case, the vendor in the better-class squares and crescents was a girl, many a window was frequently raised in order that the occupants might be better able to hear the cry proceeding in all its purity from the young voice. The disappearance of the oyster beds from the Firth of Forth no doubt greatly affected the sale of this shell-fish, and although a number of years ago the oyster was bought freely by all classes, the cry of 'Caller ou' has entirely ceased in old Edinburgh, and is now only occasionally heard in the fashionable West-end streets and crescents of the New Town. It is pleasant to know, however, that this historic cry is not altogether extinct, and any one wandering round say Moray Place or Randolph Crescent early on an evening in late autumn, might chance to hear this ancient cry. Another

beautiful cry was that of 'Caller partans,' the rendering being something like 'Caller-parte-e-e-e,' for the fishwife delights to prolong the last syllable not only for the purpose of rendering her cry more effective, but to save herself the necessity of calling too frequently. Another, and no doubt older partan cry was, 'Caller poos,' this being more usually adopted in the humbler parts of the town. Still another form at the beginning of last century was that of 'Rock partans.' The women boiled the partans at their homes and then brought them up to Edinburgh in creels and sold them at their stances, frequently adopting the interrogative to the passer-by, 'Wha'll buy my partans?' The cry of 'Caller partans' is still occasionally heard in the suburban districts.

The cry of 'Caller herrin'' is perhaps the most familiar of the fish cries, and there are various forms of it. There was the old form, 'Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?' This cry is recalled by the well-known song by Lady Nairne, 'Wha'll buy my caller herrin'?' In the letterpress to Geikie's sketches, it is mentioned that in a course of lectures on Scottish music, Mr. Wilson, the celebrated vocalist, took occasion to introduce this song, and 'stated that he had preserved the tones of the fisherwomen, with the music of whose cries, as they hawked their wares, he was so struck that he had often followed them for hours together on the streets of Edinburgh.' A common cry of the fishwife now as in the past is 'Caller herrin', three a penne-e-e-e.' One interesting feature in these vendors is the quaint remarks they frequently make. To a likely customer, an aside may be 'Bonnie herrin'—sixpence,' or 'Sixpence a dizen—nice big herrin,' or in answer to a customer, 'Yes, I've herrin', but they're *dear*.' The male hawkers with carts usually adopt the familiar 'Herrin', fresh herrin', caller herrin'.' The cry of 'Wastlin herrin', which was known in Edinburgh in the early part of last century, was no doubt a very old one. As is well known, the West Coast and Loch Fyne herring are of a finer quality

than the herring caught in the North Sea, this being attributable, it is believed, to the feeding. It was scarcely to be supposed that under the severely protective rules to which our forefathers were accustomed, the entry of hawkers into Edinburgh with such a competitive article would not conflict with some interests of the burgesses. We find accordingly that in the sixteenth century the magistrates put certain restrictions upon the sale of this herring.

Sprats were sold under the local name of Garvies, and the cry of 'Garvie herrin', a penny a plate,' which was frequently heard, brought out the goodwives with their plates to the Garvie cart. In Jamieson's *Scottish Dictionary* it is suggested that the name of Garvie may have been taken from the island in the Firth of Forth, in the vicinity of which the herring were caught.

The sale of haddocks and cods was at one time announced by the old cry of 'Rug-a-rug o' the caller haddies ; Rug-a-rug o' the caller cod.' The familiar cries at the present day, however, are, 'Haddies, fresh haddies, caller haddies,' and 'Cod, caller cod.' The large-sized cod and haddock can only be caught in deep water well out to sea, but the smaller kinds can always be procured nearer the shore. Consequently there was always a good supply of the latter, and in the absence of the former, a frequent cry was 'Buy my codlies, fresh codlies.' Occasionally was heard the cry of 'Caller flukes,' but when now heard, the cry is usually, 'Flounders, caller flounders.' There was also at one time the cry of 'Caller skate,' the vendor bringing a cart-load through the streets.

But the fresh fish sellers had not all the sale. The north-east coast of Scotland has from time immemorial been noted for the preparation of dried fish, and there can be no doubt that for many centuries large quantities were sold by hawkers on the Edinburgh streets. Indeed, at the end of the sixteenth century, we find the Council making proclamation of

certain regulations as to its sale. In the eighteenth century the poet Fergusson, writing of the Leith races says :—

‘ The Buchan bodies thro’ the beach
 Their bunch of findrums cry,
 And skirl out baul’ in Norland speech,
 “ Guid speldings, fa will buy ? ” ’

Speldings were generally prepared from whittings, but also from very small haddocks and other fish, for which, in their fresh condition, a market could not readily be found when the supply was abundant. Such sun-dried fish were sometimes called bervies. Both speldings and bervies were, in addition to being hawked in the streets, sold in inns and public-houses ; indeed, they were often supplied free in such establishments.

Stark, in his *Picture of Edinburgh* (1806), writes, “ “ Fine prawns ” is one of the evening calls of Edinburgh. These prawns are caught on the shallow, sandy beach at Figgate Whins (Portobello) ; a few shrimps are sometimes intermixed with them.’ The truth is, however, that although the crustacea caught on the sands at Portobello were taken to Edinburgh and sold as prawns, they were really a species of shrimp.

It may be of interest to note here that it seems to have been a common practice in the eighteenth century for fish-dealers to announce the arrival of fish by toot of horn, and Kay gives an illustration of such a tooter.

Under the category of fish may also be included the cry of ‘ Dulse an’ tangle.’ This cry referred to the two edible seaweeds which the Scottish people, in common with other peoples of Europe, seem at one time to have much favoured. In Iceland the weeds are taken with fish, and in Ireland the sale on the streets still continues. The cry was well known in Edinburgh about the middle of last century.

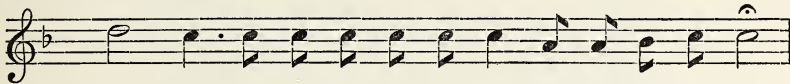
The kail wives were for centuries very conspicuous on the High Street, especially in the vicinity of the Tron, and

some of the same class of vendors may still be seen sitting at their stalls in the High Street (east of the Bridges) and adjoining streets.

Creech states that in 1763 Edinburgh was chiefly supplied with vegetables and garden stuff from Musselburgh and neighbourhood, and that this produce was cried through the streets by women with creels or baskets on their backs. A bright picture of this is given by Fergusson :—

‘ If kail sae green, or herbs, delight,
Edina’s street attracts the sight ;
Not Covent-Garden clad sae braw,
Mair fouth o’ herbs can eithly shaw ;
For mony a yeard is here sair sought
That kail and cabbage may be bought ;
And healthfu’ sallad to regale
When pamper’d wi’ a heavy meal.’

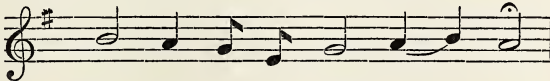
If a street vendor were to appear at the present day chanting the following :—



Four bunch a pen-ny the bon-nie call-er ra-dish-es.

it would no doubt create a sensation among the passers-by, but many are still in our midst who at one time were quite familiar with this cry.

One of Geikie’s sketches of street scenes is entitled ‘ Wha’ll buy neeps?’ It is that of an old woman seated with her basket of turnips by her side. Her cry was :—



Neeps like suc-car. Wha’ll buy neeps?

The turnip-seller was, however, not always an old woman such as Geikie depicts, for two girls might sometimes have been seen carrying between them a clothes-basketful of neeps,

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each, in turn, rendering this beautiful cry. Teenan refers to this in his lines :—

‘Lasses, neeps like sucker singin’,
Wi’ their baskets ’tween them swingin’.

A plaintive and beautiful cry was, ‘Leddies, leddies, here are cresses, a’ the wey frae Loudon Burn.’ James Smith

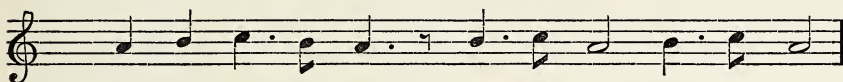
CASTLE, FROM THE GRASS MARKET.



‘My pease & beans wha’ll buy frae me
They’re hot & warm as warm can be’

gives the cry as ‘Wha’ll buy my bonnie water-cresses, a’ the road frae Loudon Burn?’ But, alas! it has not been heard for many years. At the beginning of the nineteenth century a well-known cry was ‘Wall cresses an’ purpey.’ Purpey

was probably the common purslane, which seems to have been used as a pot-herb. The cry of 'Rhubarb, fresh rhubarb, tuppence ha'penny a bunch,' though perhaps not so old as some of the other cries above referred to, is one which is well-known at the present day. Towards the end of March or beginning of April, the hawkers make their appearance, and all spring and summer the cry is heard. How long the vending of hot peas and beans has taken place on the streets of Edinburgh it is impossible to say, but the quaint and somewhat plaintive melody of the following would seem to take us back a long time :—



Wha'll buy peas an' beans? Hot an' warm, hot an' warm.

The women carried their peas and beans in a pitcher, and measured them out with a small cup. Teenan pictures one of these vendors as follows :—

'An' ane wi' boilt peas on a tray,
Wha sat upon the market stair,
A very picture of despair.'

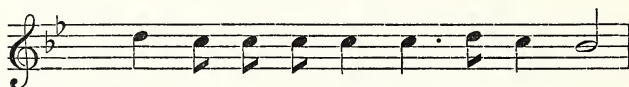
There was occasionally heard the cry of 'Fresh lettuces,' and the children's rhyme of

'Wha'll buy syboes, wha'll buy leeks,
Wha'll buy the bonnie lassie wi' the red cheeks?'

suggests other cries in this line. Occasionally on Saturday nights a lumbering farm cart appeared, and the cry of 'Mealy tatties' would bring round numbers of people, some of whom doubtless desired to have that old-fashioned Saturday supper, 'Tatties and herrin.' But clearly an older and quainter cry of the potato-seller was that of 'Buy my fine peeryorries, saxpence a peck and awa they go'; or, 'Here's yer sonsy peeryorries, come awa.'

Closely allied to the kail-wives were the fruit-sellers, and

in many instances the occupations were combined. In the year of Flodden Field, the Council enacted that no fruit was to be sold on the streets, and in 1548 the fruit-wives were forbidden to stand on the High Street except on market-days. First in the year, in recent times, came round the cheery seller with his 'Wha'll buy ma bonnie cherries, twenty for a baw-bee and ane to the mense o't?' 'Sonsy cherries.' The vendor was in the habit of putting down his or her basket on the street, and filling the spare time between sales by tying the cherries in twenties with black thread. Cherries are still sold on the street, but the beautiful cry is heard no more. A little later the gooseberry-vendor came round with her little chant of



Ripe berr-ies the big pint a ha'p - 'ny.

Even yet, one may frequently see the gooseberry vendor with her 'Berries, penny a basket.' Then followed 'Ripe strawberries.' Sometimes these were hawked by two women carrying a large basket between them. In autumn the streets resounded with the cry of the apple-sellers. A well-known cry was, 'Here's yer fine rosy-cheekit Carse o' Gowries—the tap o' the tree.' This apple was a great favourite, and even cart-loads of it were brought into town, the sellers standing in the cart dealing out the apples in large quantities, repeating the well-known Carse o' Gowrie apple couplet :—

‘Carse o’ Gowrie Aipples an’ Pears,
The Flow’r o’ Manorgan, the tap o’ the tree.’

A well-known apple-seller, still remembered by many citizens, was Sarah Sibbald, familiarly known as Apple Glory, who had her permanent stance in old Shakespeare Square. There

were, of course, hawkers who sold the refuse of the market, and the writer of the letterpress to Geikie's etching, 'Apples, five a ha'penny,' gives an interesting illustration of a well-known vendor's method of bargaining with the ordinary type of message-boy. The apple-vendor frequently sold pears also, a well-known cry being, 'Buy my fine ripe pears, the queens o' beauty, the queens o' beauty; only a penny the pund, and awa they go.'

In December and January, and especially at New Year time, there rang out in the frosty air the cry of 'Oranges, braw oranges, wha'll buy my bonnie oranges, only a penny the p-i-e-ce.' In the practice of 'first-footing' on New Year's morning, oranges were considered indispensable, and therefore on Hogmanay scores of hawkers with their barrows were ranged along the sides of the principal streets which led in the direction of the Tron Church. The street sales of fruit are no longer what they were, but an occasional barrow-woman may be seen, although her barrow is not now of the old type. Towards the close of the year, however, the cry of 'Oranges, three a penny,' is common, and the writer on a recent walk down Chapel Street and Buccleuch Street passed two such barrow-women and a male hawker with a cart.

To what extent flowers were sold on the streets in the time of the Stuarts we cannot say, but it seems to have been the custom for boys to sell flowers to the ladies and gentlemen parading on the High Street in the seventeenth century, for we find that in 1699 the Council found it necessary to draw up rules to be observed by all who hawked roses and other flowers. These rules were similar to those imposed upon boys who sold papers, and will be more fully referred to in dealing with that class of vendor. The following lines of Fergusson's, which follow immediately after those quoted on p. 191, seem to show that in the eighteenth century ladies bought their flowers, for household use at all events, in

the High Street at the same time as they bought their vegetables:—

‘ Glour up the street in simmer morn
The birks sae green and sweet-brier thorn,
Wi’ spraingit flowers that scent the gale,
Ca’ far awa’ the morning smell,
Wi’ which our ladies flow’r-pat’s fill’d,
And every noxious vapour kill’d.’

For many years the street sale of flowers in Edinburgh appears to have languished, but within the last decade or so, a large number of English hawkers, both men and women, have appeared in Princes Street for the sale of spring flowers. In the month of March, or earlier, the cries of ‘Daffodils, penny a bunch’; ‘Violets, lovely violets, penny a bunch’; ‘Violets, all fresh-cut violets,’ are heard. Indeed the violets are sold almost all winter and spring. In April the cry changes to ‘Primroses, penny a bunch,’ or if the hawker has a variety of spring flowers for sale, the cry may be ‘Morning cut flowers, penny a bunch, all fresh flowers, lovely flowers.’ In May is heard, ‘Roses, all fresh-cut roses, penny a rose.’

The sale of puddings was of very long standing in Edinburgh. The puddings ‘of Jock and Jame’ referred to by Dunbar were doubtless the ordinary meal puddings, white and black, which have always been so popular in Scotland. The pudding-vendors appear to have been rather a nuisance on the street, for in 1581 the Council ordained ‘the pudden mercat to be removit of the calsay and placeit in the flesche mercat.’ In this connection, it is interesting to note that the last man who sold white and black puddings in the Flesh-market is well remembered. Before Cockburn Street was built, he was stationed in the centre of the market, but after the alterations necessitated by the formation of that street, his stance was in the corner of the top market, which was adjacent to Cockburn Street.

The cries of puddings and pies bore a great resemblance to each other, not only in Edinburgh, but in the country generally, the important point insisted on in all cases being that the articles were 'hot' or 'piping hot.' Vendors of puddings and pies used to carry a charcoal grill strapped over their shoulders, by which means their wares were kept hot, but the portable grill was later superseded by a stand placed on the street. Sometimes indeed the vendors had a rhyme in which the important fact that the articles were hot was particularly emphasised, as in the case of a certain High Street vendor whose rhyme was as follows :—

‘ Puddings all hot, all hot,
Piping hot, piping hot,
Hot or cold they must be sold.
Puddings all hot, all hot,
Piping hot.’

The pie was no less popular than the pudding, and the various terms of recommendation which piemen were in the habit of adding to the simple cry of 'Hot mutton pies' are given in the following lines appearing in the poem 'After Errol Winter Market,' by Charles Spence :—

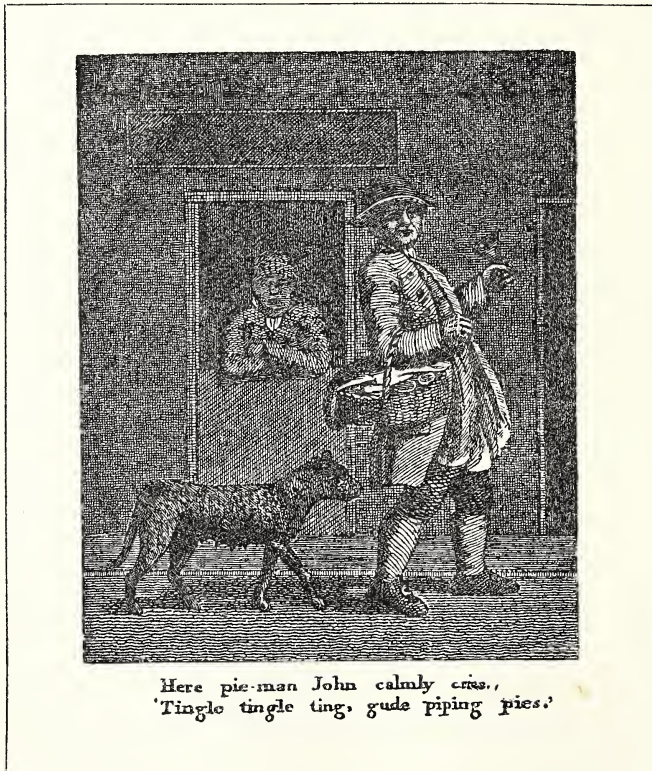
‘ Maimed Hepburn from the croft gate cries,
“ Come buy my hot and tottling pies,
Fine mutton pies, fat piping hot,
One for a penny, four a groat.” ’

There was at one time what was called a plack-pie, that is to say, a pie sold for a plack, and it will be remembered that Darsie Latimer sitting in Joe Crackenthorp's public-house on the banks of the Solway, and speaking no doubt from the recollections of his youthful dealings with the Edinburgh pie huxters, 'asked in a faltering tone the huge landlord, who was tramping through the room in all corpulent impatience, "whether he could have a plack-pie?" "Never heard of such a thing, master," said the landlord, and was about to trudge

onward, when the guest, detaining him, said in a strong, Scottish tone, "Ye will maybe have nae whey then, nor butter-milk, nor ye couldna exhibit a souter's clod?"' Ballantine refers to the sale of bawbee pies in the West Bow:—

'Whaur bawbee pies wee callants moupit.'

We have already seen that Scott in *Guy Mannering* refers to the bells of the piemen. It would appear from the



following lines addressed by Claudero to the Pye Baxters in the latter half of the eighteenth century, that the size

of the pie and the quantity of the contents were not always satisfactory :—

‘ Our Cowgate Council paunches eat,
In them they see there is no cheat,
But fill your paste, increase the size,
They ’ll leave the paunches and take pyes.’

Not only so, but the very nature of the contents was sometimes open to question if one may gather so from the following lines in *A Town Eclogue*, published in 1804 :—

‘ The glaring shops allur’d the eye no more,
And tradesmen for the day their tricks gave o’er ;
What time each damsel, as she homeward hies,
Hears drowsy tinkling cry of “ Mutton pies ” ;
Quake at the knell ! thou vagrant race canine !
The crusty fate perchance may soon be thine.’

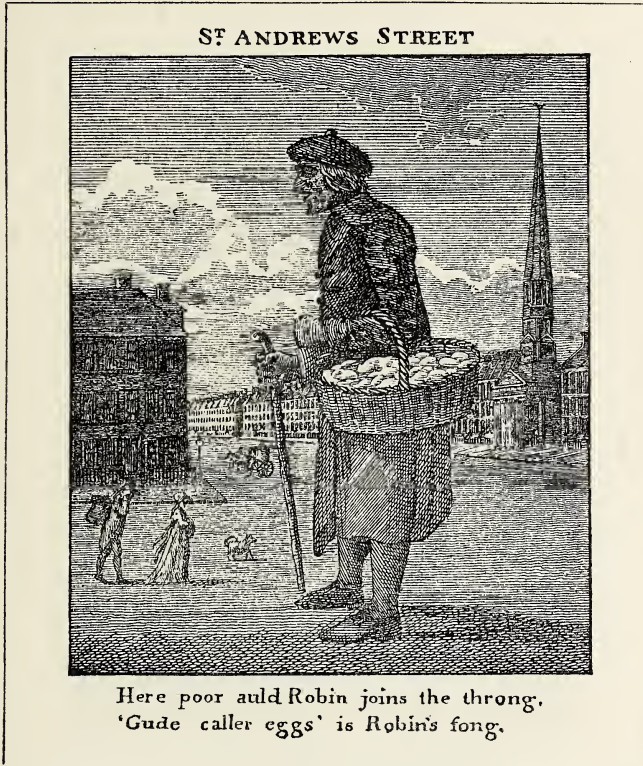
The piemen seem, in more recent times, to have carried on their businesses in shops, and even yet there are certain shops chiefly devoted to pie making and selling.

Up to some time in last century, certain portions of the carcasses of animals were sold chiefly by street hawkers. For instance, tripe was sold for hundreds of years under the name of painches, painch being the old Scottish term for the stomach of the animal. The hawkers bought the uncleanned painches and sold them on the streets, and it can therefore be easily imagined that Dunbar in the fifteenth century and Fergusson in the eighteenth had both good cause for their complaints. The cries of ‘ Sheepheads and harigals ’ and ‘ Sheepheads, plucks, and trotters ’ also indicate other sales falling under this category, the articles referred to being carried through the poorer streets by men with baskets on their heads. The sale of such commodities was in past centuries certainly great, for even in early Victorian

days, butcher-meat was very rarely on the tables of the poorer classes. But no doubt many will find it difficult to realise a state of society in which a condition obtained such as that referred to in the following passage from a letter by Dr. Norman Chevers, printed by Mr. Tuer as an appendix to his *London Cries*. 'One who was an Edinburgh student towards the end of last (the eighteenth) century told me that a man carrying a leg of mutton by the shank would traverse the streets crying "Twa dips and a wallop for a bawbee." This brought the gudewives to their doors with pails of boiling water which was in this manner converted into broth.' Whatever may be thought of the absolute accuracy of the story told by the student, there is other evidence which would imply that such a cry was known in Edinburgh, for in the before-mentioned caricature by the Marquis of Townshend, one of the cries given is, 'Who 'll have a dip and a wallop for a bawbee?' While dealing with this subject, let us imagine that we had stepped from the North Bridge into the Flesh-market in the early part of last century, say on a Saturday night. Here we would have encountered a busy scene, and amid all the babel of sounds the voices of the butchers, dressed in blue and white striped frock-coats and black silk hats, would have been heard crying rapidly while cutting up the meat, 'Fine beef and mutton, leddy. What 'll ye buy? Buy leddy, buy,' while in the background would have been observed the cadies waiting with creel on back ready to take home the purchases of the ladies.

The cry of 'Potatoes hot, all hot,' was at one time familiar, the vendor carrying in front of him, by means of a strap over his shoulders, a box containing a hot grill in which the potatoes were kept warm. This type of vendor, however, has now been superseded by the 'hot chip' men who, with their pony-carts, are well known in all populous districts of the country.

Dunbar, as we have seen, gave a glimpse of the sale of dairy produce on the streets in his time ; and *à propos* of the



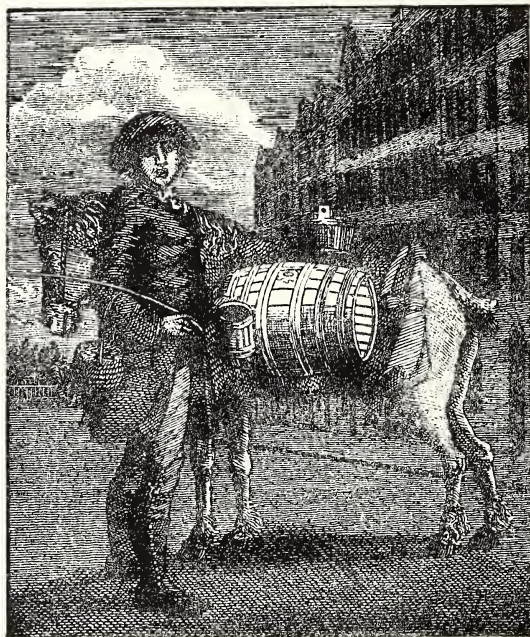
cry of 'Gude caller eggs,' the following lines of Sempill in his *Lamentation* are interesting :—

'Allace ! we Chapmen may with Creilmen murne
Thay sillie men that brocht thair butter and egges
To Edinburgh Croce and did na vther turne.'

The milk-cries seem to have given some annoyance in the time of James VI., for in 1609 the Council forbade the

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crying of milk through the town after eight o'clock at night, and also prohibited the vendors from crying at any time on Sundays. In 1689 an Act was passed prohibiting the bringing of milk into the city on Sundays after 7.30 A.M., in



'Sour milk' good Gilbert bauls aloud,
And frankly sells it to the crowd.

order 'that the inbringers of the milk may be in reddiness to remove out at the ports at eight of the clock in the morning.' Scottish people have for centuries been great consumers of butter-milk, or soor-dook, as it was commonly called in Scotland, and the soor-dook can was at one time a feature of every Edinburgh household. Towards the end





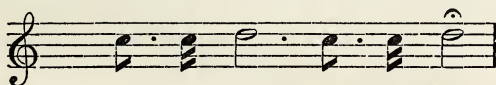
SPUNK SELLER.



•CURDS AN' WHEY!

of the eighteenth century, it was estimated that a thousand pounds a year was paid in Edinburgh during the months of June, July, August, and September for this beverage, which was sold at a penny the Scots pint. It was in those days that one might have witnessed daily the picturesque sight of milkmaids on horseback riding into town with soor-dook barrels strapped across the saddle behind them. About the middle of last century the soor-dook stances extended from the Tron Church to St. Mary's Wynd, and here one might have witnessed a long row of carts containing casks of butter-milk, which, together with a supply of fresh-butter, farmers from all the surrounding country had sent in to be sold on the street in small quantities. The cry of 'Soor-dook, a penny the pint,' was a familiar one.

Curds, as sold in Dunbar's time, has no doubt been another summer dish for generations, and we have just seen that it was one of the dishes that Darsie Latimer asked for from Joe Crackenthorp. There are still some who remember the vendors of this favourite summer dish, as they sat on the High Street, from opposite the Royal Exchange to the Tron Church, on warm June and July days, carefully lifting spoonfuls of the white solid mass into the vessels brought to them by their customers. Their well-known cry was



Curds an' Whey! Curds an' Whey!

but an early form seems to have been 'Curds and green whey.' The last of the race of such criers was Kirsty, or 'Rousty' Kirsty, as the boys called her, and not a few still remember her, trudging along the High Street.

Before grocers added the sale of cheese to their business, much of this article was sold on the street, the varieties most commonly offered for sale being gouda, and other Dutch and skim-milk cheeses; and as the vendors sat with their barrows

from Lawnmarket to the Tron Church, there fell on the ear of the passer-by the oft-repeated cry of 'Finest goudy.' The cheese was usually sold in cuts.

The proximity of the Joppa, Pinkie, and Preston salt-



Here Madge doth trudge thro' wet and dry.
Wha'll buy falt, is Madge's cry.

pans brought to Edinburgh many vendors of this article, and a very old cry was, 'Wha'll buy sa-at?' The salt-sellers, who were at one time very numerous, were usually women, who carried the salt in creels on their backs. Kay gives us a picture of such a vendor of the eighteenth century in the person of Saut Maggie, who succeeded her mother in the

business. Her cry of 'Wha'll buy my lucky forpit o' sa-at?' was often accompanied by a rhyme, and if customers were slow in coming, Maggie would add to her cry, 'Na, na, it'll nae doe, deil ane yet.' When questioned as to her use of this expression, she replied that she had always 'maist luck' on the days she used it. She sold the salt at sixpence a caup, the caup being a wooden measure one-fourth of a peck. In the accompanying illustration from the *Cries of Edinburgh*, there can be little doubt that the 'Madge' referred to is identical with the Saut Maggie above described. A shorter form of the salt-cry was 'Ony sa-at?'

The gingerbread stall was an institution of long standing. In the *Edinburgh Courant* of September 1709, a certain Lucky Law advertised the 'true London gingerbread' at her stand nigh to the Cross, and in the *Scots Weekly Magazine* of 1832-33 (p. 234), a story is told of a vendor who stood daily in Parliament Close, for a long period of years, with a basket of gingerbread over his arm. So great were his sales to persons passing out and in to Parliament Square, that he amassed a large sum of money. All went well until a stout young fellow, with a similar basket, by degrees gained the trade out of the original vendor's hands. Gingerbread was in great demand at all Scottish fairs, and some old residents still remember Robbie Salmond, who, styling himself 'the gingerbread weaver of Kirkcaldy,' always attended the Hallow Fair, and to encourage his patrons, occasionally tossed some of his gingerbread, which he described as 'bullock's blood and sawdust,' amongst the crowd, crying, 'Feed the ravens, feed the ravens.' An interesting survival of the Hallow Fair gingerbread is the practice of a number of bakers in exposing, at the proper time, 'Hallow fair gingerbread' for sale in their windows.

Many were the vendors of sweetmeats. Sometimes the candy man appeared with a tray supported in front of him by a cord slung over his shoulders; but when, as not unfre-

quently, he not only sold for cash, but bartered for rags and bones, he wheeled a barrow, and as he approached, shouting, 'Here 's yer fine cinnamon candy-rock, for auld rags, banes, copper, iron, brass, or broken c-r-r-r-y-s-t-a-l; gether, gether up,' sometimes adding, after a pause, 'Gether, bairns, gether,' the children ran to their homes, and presently returned with such refuse as they could lay hands on. Robbie Salmond, before referred to, also sold 'pocks o' sweeties,' which he referred to as 'loadstones for catching' the fair ones, adding, 'Tap them on the shouther wi' ane o' my pocks, an' they 'll follow ye like the goats.' But there was also the famous Colter's candy, which was well known in the lowlands of Scotland about fifty years ago, as Colter used to attend St. Boswells, St. James's, and no doubt other fairs. A version of the Colter candy rhyme heard in Edinburgh, and sung and whistled alternately by the vendor, who was clad in a red jacket, is as follows :—

' Johnnie Scott was awfu' thin,
 His bones were stickin' through his skin ;
 Now he 's got a double chin
 Wi' eatin' Colter's candy.
 Allabally, Allabally bee,
 Sittin' on your mammie's knee,
 Greetin' for another bawbee
 To buy Colter's candy.'

A well-known vendor of cocoa-nut, generally known by the sobriquet of 'Cocoa-nut Tam,' sold that article in the street for a long period of years. His haunts were mainly in the High Street, especially at the well near the head of Halkerston's Wynd, and his cry was, 'Cocky nit, cocky nit, a ha'penny the bit, bit, bit.' He also addressed himself to such as came to his stall in the following original rhyme :—

' Taste and try before ye buy,
 That 's the wey to make ye buy.'

At the time of his death, in January 1894, a portrait and character sketch appeared in the *Weekly Scotsman*.

Visitors to London are familiar with the Muffin Man, but it seems that at one time he was not unknown on the Edinburgh streets. An old inhabitant who attended Young Street School nearly seventy years ago, remembers such an one coming along Young Street at the play-hour. Clad in white, and carrying a basket with a clean white towel over it, he walked up and down in front of the school, crying 'Hot muffins, a ha'penny each.' It is probable, however, that this may have been another case of a cry imported by an Englishman, for it is doubtful if muffins were generally cried on the streets.

Household necessities, apart from food, brought a very miscellaneous set of hawkers about the streets. The roasting-jack was once more popular than it is at the present day, and Kay has given us in Lauchlan M'Bain, an old Culloden veteran, a picture of a roasting-jack vendor of the eighteenth century. M'Bain himself manufactured the fly-jacks and toasting-forks sold by him, and he paraded the streets shouting 'R-r-r-roasting-jacks and toasting-forks.' As stated in the letterpress to Kay's portraits, 'his professional chant, as he frequently wended his way up the back stairs leading from the Cowgate to the Parliament Square, became exceedingly annoying to the gentlemen of the long robe,' but the law gave them no recourse against him, and he continued to sing his roasting, toasting ditty—'Now for your quarters and shoulders of mutton or lamb, geese and turkeys. Any more awanting, my hearty ones. What! are you all asleep; now's your time. I leave this city to-morrow, and have sold sixteen hundred dozen all well prov'd, well try'd, the last one now.' It was only after judges and practitioners had collected and paid him a sufficient sum that he was induced to be silent while passing through the square. Kay has left us two sketches of this in-

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teresting street-crier, the one taken in 1791 and the other in 1815.



The vendors of ling brushes, or besoms, as they were called in Scotland, and heather ranges did a great trade, for the good housewives who brushed their floors and scrubbed their pots thoroughly, no doubt used a considerable number of such articles. The sellers came into town with large baskets over their backs in which they carried the brushes, and in their hands or across the baskets they also carried the rods

to be offered as handles. The well-known rhyme of those vendors was as follows :—

‘ Fine heather ranges,
Better never grew,
Fine heather ranges,
Wha ’ll buy them noo ?
Ranges for a penny,
Besoms for a plack ;
If ye winna buy them,
Help them on my back.’

A good sketch will be found in the pages of Kay of one John Tait, who made and sold besoms in Edinburgh and district in the time of Prince Charles Edward. Closely allied to this purely local class of vendors were the Flemish women and girls who sold brooms throughout the whole country. Hone says that they came from the Netherlands in the spring and took their departure in the summer, and that they had a low, shrill, twittering note, ‘ Buy a broom ’ sometimes varying into the singular plural ‘ Buy a brooms.’ He further adds: ‘ It is a domestic cry ; two or three go together and utter it in company with each other ; not in concert nor to a neighbourhood, and scarcely louder than will attract the notice of an inmate seen at a parlour window or an open street door, or a lady or two passing in the street.’

Here may be mentioned the vendors of basses, who carried these door-mats on their backs from house to house.

The itinerant crockery merchant came often round with his cart, and taking a bowl in each hand, and holding them so that the rim of the one touched the rim of the other in every part of the circle, he rolled them about in such a way as to make a ringing sound, at the same time crying ‘ Ch-e-e-n-y a-hoy.’ Ballantine refers to this in his reference to the West Bow, ‘ Whaur tinklers rang their earthen muggies.’

The pipe-clay vendor was a frequent visitor with his cry of ‘ Camstane.’ One such dealer in particular came round

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with his wife, and their pony and cart, the pony being as white as the camstane. During his round in Torphichen Street one day, there was a subsidence of the soil above the Haymarket Railway Tunnel, and the unfortunate man with his pony and cart went down in the subsidence—let us hope not far.



Householders were accustomed to hear frequently the cry of 'Blacknin' shouted up their stairs, the vendor coming round with a pitcher which contained some black composition sufficiently stiff to enable the man to lift a portion which he rolled between his hands into balls, four balls being sold for

a halfpenny. A well-known figure still remembered in this line of business was 'Blacknin' Tam.'

Only the older residents can remember the peat-sellers, but 'Peats á-hoy' was at one time a familiar sound in Edinburgh streets. In *Songs of Edina*, by William Glass, the following appears in 'Fuddy an' the Peatman':—

'When wintry nights were lang an' dark
And slippery was our street, man,
I gaed to Edinbrugh wi' my peats,
Thro' wind, thro' snaw, an' sleet, man.'

But who does not know that commonest of all cries, 'Coals, tenpence the ba', coal.' Wherever there are streets of tenements the coalman makes his appearance, and in thickly-populated quarters, where there are many small houses, the coalman's lugubrious cry is heard practically the whole day. Chambers, describing Edinburgh as it was at the beginning of the reign of George III., refers to 'corduroyed men from Gilmerton, bawling coals or yellow sand.'

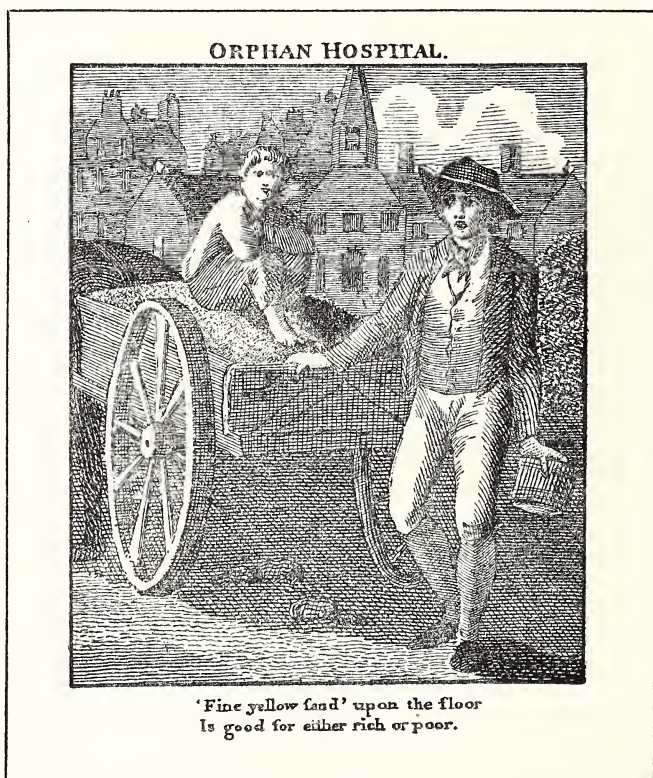
Yellow sand was at one time much used for sprinkling on stone kitchen floors, common stairs, and the floors of inns and small shops, and the cry of 'Ye-sa,' or as interpreted by the writer of *The Fudge Family in Edinburgh*, 'Yaw-a-a,' was a daily one. Many still remember the Gilmerton carters coming into town with their carts of sand.

In comparatively recent years, before people gave up the practice of filling their bed ticks with chaff, there was heard frequently, especially at the term of Whitsunday, the doleful cry of 'Cauf for beds.' Strangers hearing this cry for the first time, and not knowing what it signified, occasionally supposed it to be 'God forbid.' Teenan in some verses written in 1869 refers to

'The man wha growl'd the caaf for bed,
Ae cheek as if it held an egg.'

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To those who kept song-birds, seed was a necessity, and the accompanying illustration from *Cries of Edinburgh* shows the vendor of this article crying his wares in the Canongate.



The tinkers, ever on the move, as was their custom, with their inquiry 'Pots or pans to mend?' found much to do in Edinburgh, and an old form of their cry, 'Hae ye ony broken pots or pans or ony broken chanlers?' is given as the first two lines of that old Scottish song 'Clout the Cauldron.' With these itinerant mechanics may also be classed the re-

pairers of bellows with their cry of 'Old bellowses to mend.' Ballantine, who, as an Edinburgh man, saw much of this



fraternity, describes the nature of their work in the following lines:—

'There 's wee Tammie Twenty, the auld tinker bodie,
Comes here twice a year wi' his creels and his cuddy.
He works brass and copper, an' a' sic-like mettles,
Walds broken brass pans, southers auld copper kettles.
Fou stievely he clouts up auld broken-wind bellows,
Or mends, wi' brass clasps, broken-ribb'd umbrellas.'

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Closely associated with the tinkers were other itinerant companies, *e.g.* travelling cobblers and repairers of china, crystal, and stoneware. As it was the custom of such people

HEAD OF BLACKFRIARS WYND



Here Nicodemus bauls with hissing tone,
Old bellows-es to mend" before I'm gone.

to travel with their families, a practice seems to have arisen of two or more members of a family each taking up a part in a cry. The cries of 'China and crystal to mend,' 'Stoneware to mend,' were fairly common, and a quaint couple in this line of business are remembered, who rendered the former of these cries somewhat in the following manner:—Woman in front: 'Ch-e-e-c-n-y to mend.' Man, following with mending

apparatus : 'Cr-r-r-istal to mend.' It is difficult to represent the cry by musical notation. Commencing on a high and shrill note the voice glided down through nearly an octave.

HERIOT'S HOSPITAL, FROM FOOT OF W. BOW



'Razors, knives, and shears to grind
I'm sure I'll sharp them to your mind'

Another such cry heard at about the same period of last century was :—

BOY (*in front*). My Father is a maker and mender of Old Shoes !

MOTHER (*following*). It is true what my Boy does say !

FATHER (*bringing up the rear*). And I am the man who can do it,
with my Tiddy fal-al-fal-ay !

Here may also be mentioned the well-known cry of

‘Knives and sciss-ors to grind,’ an older version being, ‘Razors, knives, and shears to grind.’ Even at the present day every one is familiar with the itinerant cutler and his old-fashioned grinding-machine.

Various articles of attire were, of course, offered for sale. We have seen that in the sixteenth century the bonnet-makers sold their goods on stands on the street, and it requires no great effort to imagine the cries of commendation of their goods which these vendors would direct to the country people as they flocked into the town on market-days. In the caricature already referred to, it seems evident that the Scotch traders vended their native bonnets on the streets of London in the eighteenth century, for, apparently in ridicule, their cry is given as ‘Bonnets for to fit English heads.’ In the days when men wore knee-breeches, the manufacture of hose must have been an important industry. Fergusson refers to the vendors of this article at the Hallow Fair as follows :—

‘Here Sawny cries, frae Aberdeen :
 “Come ye to me fa need ;
 The brawest shanks that e’er were seen
 I’ll sell ye cheap an’ guid.
 I wyt they are as protty hose
 As come frae weyr or leem :
 Here tak a rug and shaw’s your pose,
 Forseeth, my ain’s but teem
 An’ light this day.”’

An old cry was ‘Shoe-ties only a ha’penny the pair.’ A custom in Edinburgh, evidently a survival of the days of the open booths, when men were accustomed to advertise their goods verbally to the passers-by, is that of certain boot-shops in the Old Town having frequently a man walking about in front of the shop, who politely invites the passer-by to step into the shop and inspect the boots, at the same time praising their quality and cheapness, ‘Very nice boots: cheap to-night.’

The sale of toys was one which lent itself to the open booth (such as the Krames), the street stall, or itinerant vendor, and Ballantine, who, as a boy, had no doubt many a time wandered through the narrow passage in front of the Krames, gives the following picture :—

‘ The ancient Krames whaur weanies tottit,
Whaur a’ wee wairdless callants trottit,
Though scantly fed, an’ scrimply coatit,
To spend their a’
On dirlin’ drums or ba’s that stottit
Against the wa’.

Whaur wee lead penny watches glanced,
Whaur wee pig penny horses pranced,
Whaur crowds o’ bairnies gazed entranced
A’ round in rings,
While timmer tumblers swung an’ danced
On horse-hair strings.

An’ bawbee dalls the fashions apit,
Sae rosy cheekit, jimpy shapit,
An’ wee bit lasses gazed an’ gapit
Wi’ mouth an’ ee,
Till frae their mithers they had scrapit
The prized bawbee.’

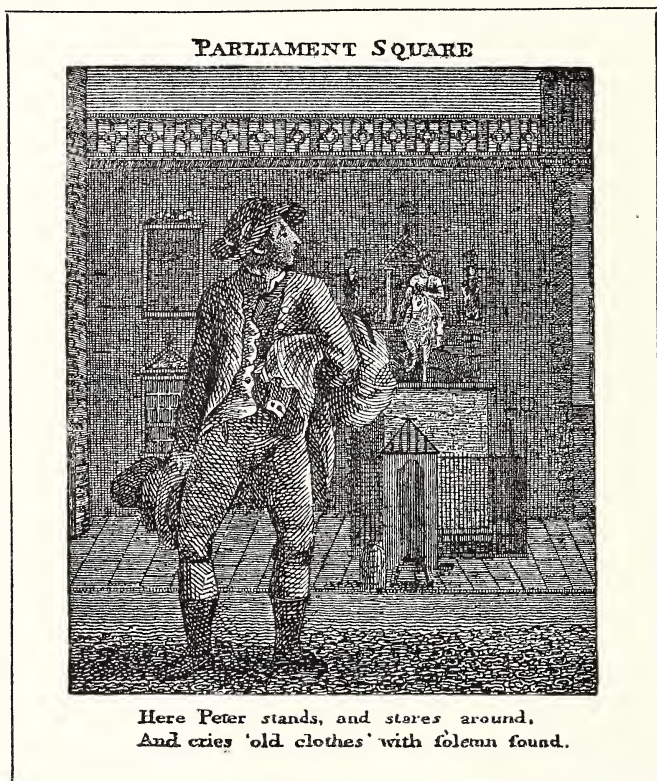
The itinerant vendor, with his cry of ‘ Here ’s yer toys for girls an’ boys, an’ bawbee whups for fardins,’ was to be met throughout the principal streets ; while another toy cry was :—

‘ Young lambs to sell,
Young lambs to sell ;
If I had as much money as I could tell,
I wudna be here wi’ young lambs to sell.’

Such cries are heard no more, but occasionally vendors of mechanical toys, principally Englishmen, take up their stand at the kerb on Princes Street.

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Who has not known from childhood the familiar sight of the barrow with its load of toy-balloons, and paper flags, and the cry of 'Gather up, gather up old rags and bones'? This type of vendor is still to be seen on the streets, but the



actual cry is rarely heard. The collectors of rags now rely more on the house-to-house visitation than on bartering toys, and the housewife opening her door is met by such a request as, 'See if ye hinna ony auld rags and bottles or auld lum hats about ye; just see.'

The purchasers of old clothes have no doubt climbed up

the stairs of Edinburgh for centuries, and the cry of 'Old clothes,' sometimes abbreviated to 'Ole clo,' must have been familiar to generations. Householders are too well acquainted with the great army of old clothes collectors, who seem to be continually ringing house bells, and with the heavy-laden women who stagger home under the burdens on their backs.

Articles for purposes of ignition have been the subject of various cries. First in order was the spunk, a piece of stick about six inches long, smeared with brimstone at both ends. In order to ignite the brimstone it was necessary to bring the spunk into direct contact with flame, which was usually produced by the old method of flint, steel, and tinder. The hawkers traversed the streets with loads on their backs, and knowing the spunk to be an absolute necessity, climbed the long stairs of the tenements, inquiring, 'Ony spunks the day, mistress? a ha'penny the piece or three a penny.' Early in last century the lucifer-match made its appearance, and the cry of 'Here's your fine lucifer-matches, only a bawbee the box,' was heard well into the middle of the century.

The production of literature of a type suitable for vending on the streets seems to have early given rise to a class of street-criers, who, in their sales of ballads, chap-books, almanacs, and other papers, were much in evidence on the streets till about the middle of last century. In the seventeenth century, the 'Gazettes' and other papers were cried in the streets by boys, who also sold roses and other flowers, and acted as link-bearers. In 1699 the magistrates, considering that it was necessary to exercise some supervision over those lads, enacted that they be required to enrol themselves in a society (known in later days as the Society of Running Stationers or Cadies), the constitution of which was drawn up by the magistrates. The articles of this constitution are too numerous to be here detailed, but they directed *inter alia* that the members were to wear a 'kind

of apron of Blew-Linnen made in form of a bag,' and that in order to prevent the dispersing of profane or scandalous papers, none were to presume to expose to sale any paper or pamphlet until such were seen and approved of. Due provision was also made for a strict supervision of what in that time were considered the moral and spiritual interests of the members. The society was also a benefit one, and many laws were laid down as to the money to be paid into the box, and the benefits to be derived therefrom. In the eighteenth century this society seems to have been reconstituted by deed from the magistrates, who gave the members the sole privilege of 'dispersing and crying ballads and other periodical performances, prohibiting chair-bearers or others to exercise that office.' This document is dated 1771, and now lies in the City Museum, in a box decorated with a representation of roses and thistles, and having this inscribed on it: 'For the use of their sick and burying their dead. *Anno Domini* 1825.'

Creech, in his comparison of the condition of Edinburgh in 1783 with that of twenty years earlier, states that the streets were infested as formerly by idle ballad-singers, although no person, by the law of the burgh, was allowed to hawk or cry papers but the cadies. The only difference he could see was that the ballads were infinitely more loose than they were before, and that servants and citizens' children made excuses to be absent to listen to them. But so much has been written elsewhere on the ballad-singers of Scotland that the subject need not be dwelt upon here, except to remind the reader that it is not so very long since that 'ballant singers hoarse and roopit' were to be seen on the streets singing their songs, and crying, 'All the new and most popular songs of the day.'

The Flying Stationer was another conspicuous figure in Edinburgh life. In the days when newspapers were both few and costly, the advent of startling news generally formed



BALLAD SINGER.



SPEECH-ORIER.

the occasion for the printing of a broadsheet, copies of which, roughly printed on long strips of brownish paper, were hawked through the streets by men with powerful voices shouting out a graphic, if somewhat exaggerated, synopsis of what the sheet contained. An execution up at Liberton's Wynd was sure presently to bring an army of speech-criers through the streets bawling, 'A full, true, and particular account of his last dying speech and confession.' The Flying Stationer, knowing well that he was forbidden to sell a certain class of books, tried to evade the law as far as this could safely be done, and before the middle of last century an artful expedient was hit upon for that purpose. The hawker cried, 'I wunna sell my book, and I daurna sell my book, but I'll sell ye a straw, and I'll gie ye my book into the bargain.' Hawkie, the well-known Scottish street speech-crier, says that when he came to Edinburgh this system was new to the city, and that he made money fast, though the book he gave was only the common chap-book, *Gilderoy, the Scotch Robber*.

The Street Stationers had also a custom of fixing up scores of chap-books against a wall or hoarding, so that intending purchasers might select what they wished, and one well-known stance of this nature was in the Lothian Road. An interesting sketch of such a stance is given by Geikie. But forty years ago both ballad-singers and Flying Stationers were disappearing; and W. H. Logan, writing in 1869, gives expression to his lament as follows:—'Our street ballad-singers are now, alas, no more. Another and a greater symptom of the growing desire for the grand is the entire absence from the lanes and alleys of Broadsheet Ballads and Flying Stationers. To see such vulgar things as common songs disfigure the walls could not possibly be tolerated.'

There were many occasions of annual recurrence which gave the Flying Stationer fraternity golden opportunities, such as the Race meetings, etc., and Philo-Scotus (J. B. Ainslie), referring to the year 1797, says: 'Well do I remem-

ber the delight with which I heard when I awoke the cry of "Here ye have a list o' the galloping horses, riders, and riders' liveries, wha are to rin ower the sands o' Leith this day." In the closing days of the year, the solemn-voiced Almanac-seller came round, drawling out in dirge-like tones his cry of "Belfast Almanacs for the ensuing year." About the same time was also heard the cry, 'Drunken Summonses for the New Year, at a bawbee the piece, an' I'm sure they're no dear.' The 'Summonses' purported to be an order to attend the Police Court to answer to a charge of drunkenness, and copies were bought and sent out at the New Year, much after the method of the comic valentines which were once so popular. As it seems unlikely that many of these 'Summonses' have been preserved, a copy is here reproduced in facsimile.

Besides the actual cries of vendors, there were many other mingled sounds, not familiar to us now, which reached the ear of the passer-by in the days when markets were held on the streets. Such phrases as 'I'll niffer¹ ye,' and 'I chap² ye,' were of common occurrence in the High Street, as were also the expressions of 'Luckpenny' and 'Arles.'³

While the present article has been limited to the cries more particularly having reference to the street sales, it ought to be remembered that there were a few historical cries by town officials, *e.g.* the night watchman and town drummer, but as the inclusion of these would really open up another chapter in Edinburgh life, it may be better that they be left to be dealt with at another time.

JAMES H. JAMIESON.

¹ Bargain or exchange.

² Accept offer.

³ Earnest money.

V



R



VICTORIA, &c.—The

18

, being the

day of the month of

Year of the Nineteenth Century.

I, JOHN PIMPLE, Messenger-at-Arms to her Majesty, by virtue of my Commission, received from a Noble and Potent Lord ALLAN MALT of Maltorn, of whose Stock and Progenitors I am lineally descended, summon, warn, and charge you,

being notoriously Drunk, for being bristle-faced, copper-nosed, tight-footed, and giddy-headed; for being beast and barrel-like; always out of tune like an ill-tuned instrument: And also, for attempting to walk on the crown of your head, when, according to the custom of this and every other well-governed realm, city, or town, you ought to have walked on the soles of your feet. I being Depote for all DAYMAR GROOMS of this realm, do therefore, in name and authority of the Members of our Parliament, summon, warn, and charge you, the said

you voluntarily confess your fault, you shall only pay one-half of the said sum; but if you remain contumacious, the foresaid sum shall be redoubled (toites quotes). I therefore, in name and authority above-mentioned, do prohibit you, aye and until you make satisfaction for the foresaid crimes, from frequenting all or any public or private fairs, bridal bouses, b—dy-houses, or dram-shops, and from the company of tobacco-smokers, gin-drinkers, or snuff-takers. I also, in the same name and authority, do debar you from fishing in Helty-Loch, or Skelty-Loch, or any running pool or standing puddle, until satisfaction be made;—with certification, &c.

This to the Sheriffs of our Sherifdoms, Stewards of our Stewardries, and Bailies of Regalties, and all others, the Officers and Executioners of our Laws, to interpose their power and authority to assist in the execution of this our decree, it being conform to law, justice, and equity. Further, as it has been found proven that you have really been guilty of the abominable and disgraceful crime of Drunkenness, I, therefore desire and require, that you, the said

make speedy and immediate payment of the sum above-specified, and that within the space of three minutes after this summons and decree is read: And in case of non-payment after this warning, I then proceed, by virtue of my commission above-mentioned, to prohibit and debar you, the said from the northernmost part of Greenland, to the southernmost part of Wales, on pain of being put to the horn, &c.

GIVEN at our COURT, Day and Date above mentioned, at the Cook Head, near the Barrel Bung, adjacent to the Gill-fat, before these Witnesses, Sir Thomas Drouth, Sir George Thurskythapple, Sir Robert Sonds, Sir Samuel Draft, Sir William Worts, and Sir Allan Malt of Maltorn, all Knights of Good Stout Brown Ale, &c.

JOHN PIMPLE.

All Summonses not Stamped as above are Null and Void; and Persons Executing them are liable to Ox-Goring.

A RECORD OF THE POSITIONS OF OLD CELLARS
AND RELICS DISCOVERED DURING THE EX-
CAVATIONS FOR THE NEW CHAPEL AT ST:
GILES' CATHEDRAL, EDINBURGH

ON September 30th, 1909, excavations were commenced for the foundations of the Chapel for the Knights of the Thistle in Parliament Square to the south-east of St. Giles' Cathedral, the design and construction of which are in the hands of Mr. R. S. Lorimer, A.R.S.A.

The first result of these excavations was the discovery of some human bones. These had apparently been interred uncoffined, and may have been the remains of criminals who had suffered public execution and were ignominiously buried. The bones were collected and carefully interred near the spot where they originally lay.

As the work proceeded, the vaulted chamber marked BB on the plan (fig. 1) was exposed. This chamber measured 14 feet 8 inches by 14 feet 1 inch; the height to the crown of the arch (see section BB, fig. 1) was 7 feet 6 inches, the springing line being 4 feet from the floor level. The floor was 4 feet 9 inches below the level of Parliament Square. The fireplace (fig. 2), built askew in the north-east corner, was 2 feet 9 inches from the floor to the underside of the lintel by 3 feet wide, and the flue had outlet behind the vaulted roof to the chimney of the booth which stood there in the early part of last century (fig. 3).

This booth, and that to which the chamber described below belonged, formed part of a series of booths erected along the south wall of the church, which were chiefly

ST GILES' CATHEDRAL

*DRAWING SHEWING POSITIONS OF
OLD CELLARS DISCOVERED DURING EXCAVATIONS FOR NEW ANTE CHAPEL*

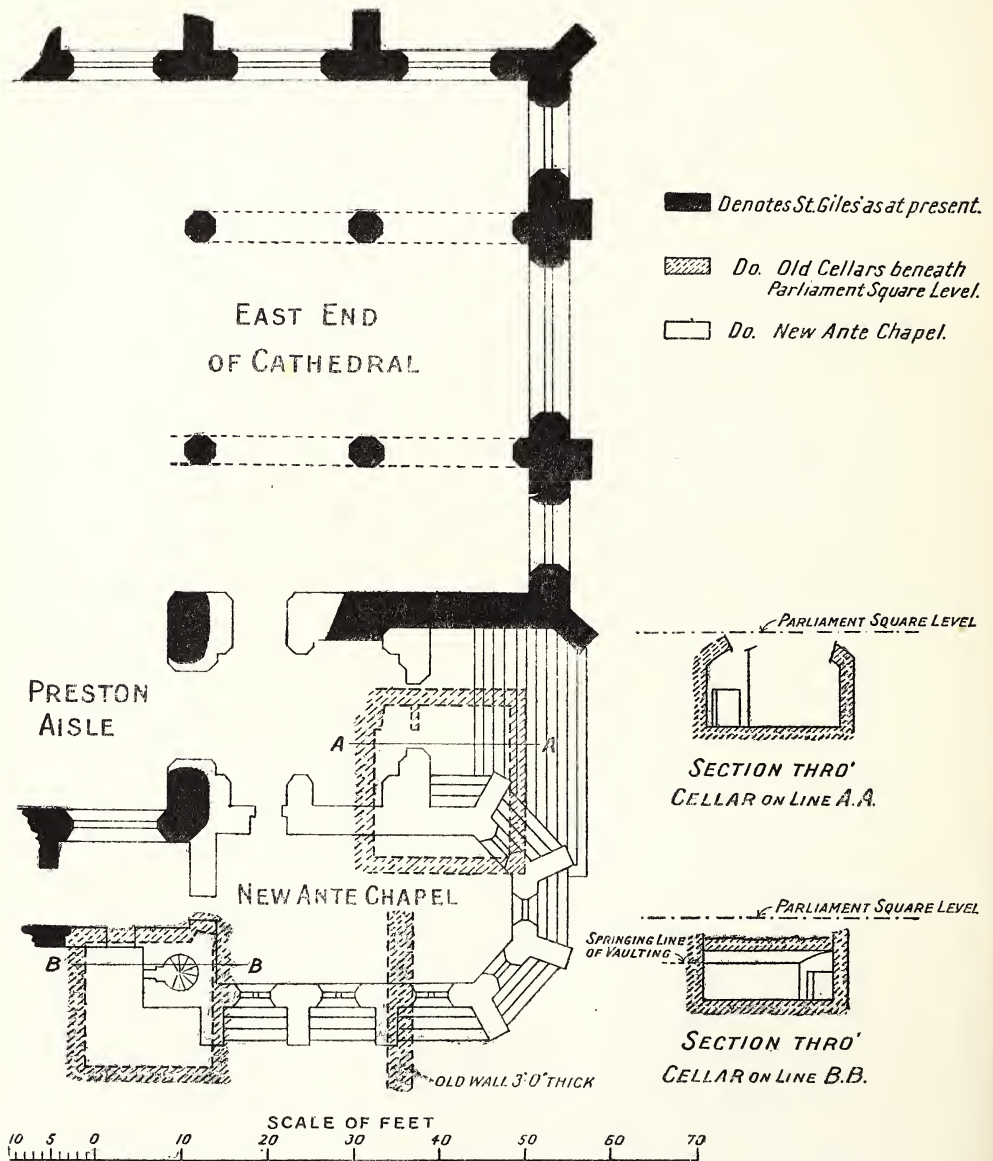


Fig. 1.

occupied by goldsmiths, jewellers, engravers, and booksellers.¹

These booths are figured in several views of the locality, including one by Storer, from which the accompanying illustration is adapted (fig. 3).

Some 18 feet east from the east wall of the chamber above described, the remains of another wall, probably the old wall

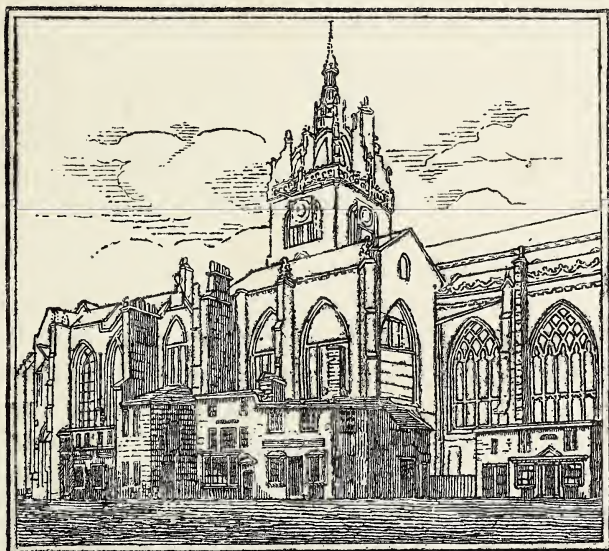


Fig. 3.—Booths erected along South Wall of the Church.

of the kirkyard, were found; this wall (18 inches thick), running north and south, extending as far south as the Cowgate.

To the north-east of the chamber BB, another of similar construction and shape was found, measuring 17 feet 5 inches by 15 feet 2 inches and 9 feet 2 inches high (see section on AA, fig. 1), the springing line in this case being 6 feet 9 inches above floor level, and the whole height from floor to level of Parliament Square 11 feet. The fireplace (fig. 4) in the north-

¹ Chambers's *Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 196.

west corner projected from the north wall at right angles to it, and was 4 feet 2 inches in height, and measured from floor to top of the very slightly arched lintel 4 feet 2 inches, the width of the fireplace being 3 feet 6 inches, and the depth of it into the wall 2 feet 9 inches. The arrangement for the flue was similar to that in the other fireplace.

On the floor level just outside the fireplace was found a cube block of freestone accurately squared, measuring $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches each way, with a hollowed bowl-shaped cavity,

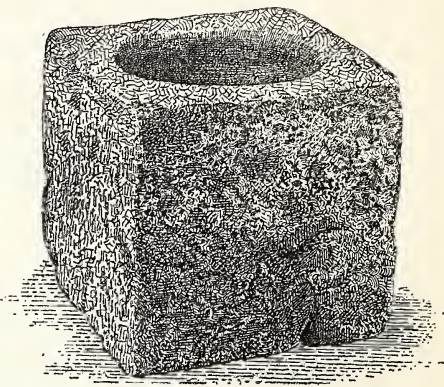


Fig. 5.—Receptacle for Ashes.

11 inches diameter by 8 inches deep (fig. 5). This block had been used as a receptacle for ashes.¹



Fig. 6.—Portion of a Pilaster Capital.

In this fireplace there were found several fragments of a glass bottle of globular shape with a tapering neck and of a beautiful pale-green tint. The whole surfaces are encrusted with an iridescent film common to old glass. Several coins were also found, but were in such a state of corrosion as to render identification impossible.

The only further discovery of consequence was that of a portion of a pilaster capital (fig. 6), probably from a tomb or mural tablet or monument, made of white Craigleith stone of fine quality, with face and returns of broadly treated acanthus foliage,

¹ Chambers (*Traditions of Edinburgh*, vol. ii. p. 210) describes a similar stone found in George Heriot's booth.



FIG. 2.

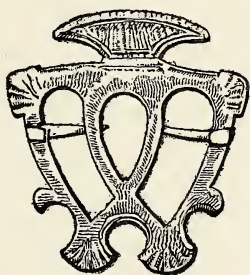
REMAINS OF FIREPLACES IN VAULTED CHAMBERS IN PARLIAMENT SQUARE.



FIG. 4.

having two smaller intermediate stems and leaves behind them. The stone has the usual neck moulding. A small indented, hollowed fillet over the leaves supports a winged head, and springing to the right and left of head are the remains of the two angle volutes. Over the head and volutes would be the crowning abacus which has disappeared. The capital indicates that the size of the pilasters would be $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches broad by 3 inches projection.

FRANCIS CAIRD INGLIS.

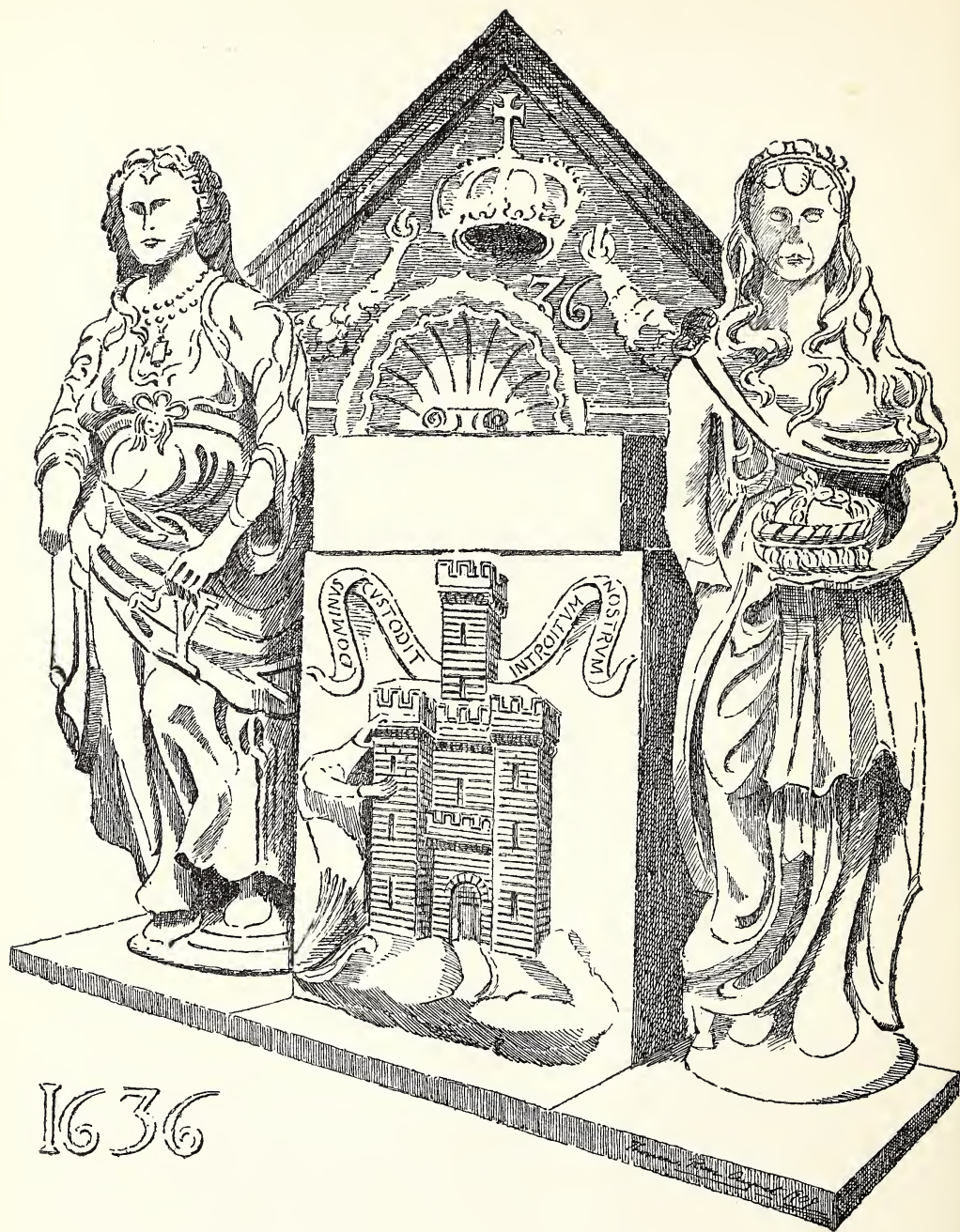




STATUES OF JUSTICE AND MERCY, FROM THE OLD PARLIAMENT HOUSE

THESE two statues, with the three carved stones shown in the illustration, were brought to my notice by the Rev. R. S. Mylne of Great Amwell, Herts., and rector of Furtho, as being in the back garden of No. 37 Drummond Place, belonging to Mrs. Robertson. Mr. Mylne was of opinion that they were relics of the old Parliament House. On visiting the place a few weeks later in the beginning of August last, I was able to confirm his opinion that the statues were those which stood one on each side of the entrance doorway at the west end of Parliament Square, and that the stone with the arms of the City of Edinburgh was from the other entrance to the same building. On making the accompanying sketch of the group of stones as they stood in the garden, and showing it to some members of the Society of Writers to the Signet, it was agreed to purchase them provisionally. The stones seemed, however, to belong more especially to the Society of Advocates, and they ultimately purchased them for the sum of £40.

The story of the building of the Parliament House has been often told and need not be gone into here; it is sufficient to say that it occupies the site of the prebendal houses belonging to the canons of the collegiate church of St. Giles, situated on the south side of the church. These houses were taken down in 1632, and eight years later the new building was finished. It will be observed that one of the stones forming the pediment of a window bears the date 1636.



The Parliament House still exists, and consists of a hall 122 feet long by 43 feet wide, spanned by a very quaint open-timber roof, one of the few remaining roofs of such an early date in Scotland. At the south end two large rooms formerly projected on the south side, thus forming an L plan. One or two turreted staircases and square turrets at each corner, with an open parapet all round, made up the conspicuous features of the design. The enrichments of the windows will be understood from the example in the sketch just referred to. The principal doorway was on the east front near the north end; it resembled somewhat the gateway of Argyle's Lodging, Stirling, and the old gateway of Glasgow College; the opening was round, arched with bold, rusticated pilasters, on each side connected by an entablature, on the top of which, over the pilasters, stood the statues—Justice on the south side, and Mercy on the north; between them the royal arms were placed in an architectural framework of pillarets, entablature, and pediment. Unfortunately all this latter work does not appear to have been preserved. The arms of Edinburgh are carefully cut on a stone, $32\frac{1}{2}$ inches high by $27\frac{1}{2}$ inches wide, with the motto DOMINVS CVSTODIT INTROITVM NOSTRVM. The dexter supporter, carved with spirit but wanting the head, remains—the other supporter is gone. There is an interesting seal preserved in the Advocates' Library, on which a good view of this old doorway of the Parliament House is finely engraved.

In the year 1824 the present façade was built in front of the old walls, and the building was greatly extended to the form and shape it now presents, and only on the south and west sides are any of the ancient features to be seen, and only those of a minor kind; the old doorway was taken down and



Seal showing Old Doorway
of Parliament House.

the architectural details were obliterated, destroyed, or obtained by collectors. Sir Daniel Wilson¹ mentions that Bailie Henderson obtained as *rubbish* a cartload of carved stones with the statues of Justice and Mercy, and took them to his villa near Trinity. How the statues and the other carved stones came to be removed from Trinity to Drummond Place we can only conjecture ; the house No. 37 was between the years 1829 and 1859 in the possession of Mr. Adam Gib Ellis, Writer to the Signet, who was a well-known collector of antiquities, and a member of the Society of Antiquaries for thirty-five years previous to his death in 1864, in the seventieth year of his age. Sir Daniel Wilson refers to his 'collection' in the *Memorials of Edinburgh*, from which he gives three sketches of old carved stones (p. 231). Mr. John Hutchison, R.S.A., sculptor, remembers frequent visits to Drummond Place, and being impressed with the number of antiquities in the house. Mr. Ellis, he says, had quite a passion for gathering old carved wood and stone work.

The figures, which are about 5 feet 6 inches in height, are each sculptured out of a single freestone block, probably obtained from some of the quarries to the south or west of Edinburgh. Justice holds in her left hand the handle from which the metal scales, now lost, were suspended ; the right hand is broken off, but is preserved. The hair is decorated with laurel leaves, and on her brow there is a star-shaped jewel ; another square-shaped one on her breast, having a centre setting, is suspended from a double necklace. A belt tightly worn round the waist is secured by an ornamented clasp, with a human head carved on the front, and a trefoil knot above. The attribute of Mercy is symbolised by the other figure holding a crown against her heart—the seat of pity and loving-kindness. The crown, decorated with laurel leaves, is held in her left hand ; her right hand, like that of

¹ *Memorials of Edinburgh*, second edition, vol. i. p. 275.

Justice, is broken off. She has a circlet of laurel leaves on a fillet round her head, and on her brow traces of a jewel. Her hair hangs down her back and over her breast in long, snaky folds, and is confined by a sash crossing her breast from the right shoulder. The figure of Justice is the finer of the two; it is a beautiful thing, well modelled, and there is perhaps no finer or more learned example of sculpture by any Scottish artist of the seventeenth century. That of Mercy is not so happy in its conception.

The Rev. R. Scott Mylne in his valuable work, *The Master-masons of Scotland*, states that these statues were sculptured by Alexander Mylne, who was born in Perth in 1613. His father, John Mylne, was a well-known architect and builder, who designed and built many of the largest and finest works of his time, and held the appointment of Master-mason to the Crown from Charles I. The father came to Edinburgh in 1616, on the invitation of the Town Council, to sculpture a statue of James VI. to be erected on the Nether Bow Port, and to superintend other works there. Within three months of his arrival there is a payment made for the stones from Inverleith for the 'King's portrait.' So that his son Alexander was brought up from his earliest years amid artistic surroundings; and we learn that, along with his elder brother John, he assisted his father as a sculptor in the making of the sundial at Holyrood. In 1635 he was paid £200 Scots for sculpturing the King's arms placed over the entrance doorway of the Parliament House. This is the stone that is now lost, and we may suppose that he executed the work of the arms of Edinburgh on the stone shown on the accompanying sketch. Two years later he was paid £266, 13s. 4d. for carving the statues of Justice and Mercy. He died suddenly in the thirtieth year of his age, most likely from the plague which was then raging in Edinburgh; he was buried in the north transept of Holyrood Abbey Church, where a monument was erected to his memory. On the occasion of laying out the

ground occupied by the transepts and other ruined parts of the abbey, the monument was removed to the north-east outside corner of the nave, where it may be seen; it contains an inscription in Latin with a translation in uncouth rhymes:—

Stay Passenger here famous Milne doth rest,
 Worthy to be in Ægypt's marble drest
 What Myron or Appelles could have done
 In Brasse or Paintry hee could that in stone
 But thretty yeares hee Blameless lived: old age
 He did betray, and in 's Prime left this Stage.

His elder brother, John, long survived him, dying in 1667. He was a leading man in Scotland, preparing designs for Holyrood, which were never executed. He did much work in various parts of the country. He was Master-mason to Charles I. and also to Charles II., and was one of the Commissioners of Scotland to effect a union with England under the Commonwealth, which union was not actually effected until the time of Queen Anne.

The Rev. R. S. Mylne, a direct descendant of Alexander, the sculptor, whose son, Robert, built the present Palace of Holyrood, has in his possession some of the stones of the pilasters supporting the figures of Justice and Mercy.

In Professor P. Hume Brown's *Early Travellers in Scotland* (note, p. 280), there is an interesting reference to the Parliament House, and to the statues and arms, in the account of his travels by the 'Rev. Mr. Thomas Morer, minister of St. Ann's within Aldersgate, when he was chaplain to a Scotch regiment,' in 1689. 'The pride of Edinburg,' he says, 'is the Parliament-Yard or Close, as they call it, in the midst whereof is the effigies of King Charles II. on horse-back; a well-proportioned figure of stone [this is a mistake: the 'effigies' are of bronze]. The Yard is square and well paved, beautified with good buildings round about it; and the only fault is, that it is no bigger, the height of the houses

bearing no correspondence to the dimensions of the area. Its western boundary is the Parliament House, a large room and high roofed. Over the entrance is the Scotch arms, with Mercy and Truth on each side, like two supporters, and this inscription—*Stant his Felicia Regna*—‘Those Vertues make Kingdoms happy.’ Under the arms was *Unio Unionum*, ‘The union of unions’—meaning not only the union of the two kingdoms, but that to the uniting of kingdoms good advice is necessary, which is the business of that place. Further on he says, ‘The northern boundary is the wall of the High Church’ [St. Giles’], ‘which with a few shops joining to it (leaving room for coaches to pass to the Parliament House) concludes the figure of this close, the beauty of their city.’ Morer is quite distinct about the ‘Scotch’ arms, which can only mean the royal arms, and yet from Nicoll’s *Diary* (note, Ban. Club, p. 81) we find that thirty-seven years before his visit, the Commissioners of the Commonwealth Parliament, sitting at Dalkeith, ordered tradesmen to take down the royal arms from the King’s seat in St. Giles’ Church and from the market-cross. This was done with the utmost indignity, and, Nicoll adds: ‘The same day (Saturday, 7th February 1652) the lyke was done at the entrie of the Parliament House and Nether Bow, quhair the King’s airmes or portrat wes found; defacing and dinging down all there monumentis and curious ensignes.’ Of course Morer may have made a mistake about the arms he saw, as he did about the statue of Charles, and the city arms may have taken the place of the royal arms; at all events the stone with the royal arms was not found with the statues. There is another stone with the Edinburgh arms, not unlike this one, at Grange House, Edinburgh. There is a view of these figures, with a notice of their finding, in the *Scots Law Times*, 29th January 1910.

THOMAS ROSS.

February 1910.

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APPENDIX

SECOND ANNUAL REPORT

Etc.

Old Edinburgh Club

1909

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

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D. F. LOWE, LL.D., 19 George Square.
ADAM SMAIL, 35 Lauriston Gardens.
ROBERT COCHRANE, 47 Morningside Drive.
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JAMES OLIVER, 11 Claremont Terrace.
THOMAS ROSS, Architect, 14 Saxe-Coburg Place.
WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.
JOHN GEDDIE, 16 Ann Street.
WILLIAM BAIRD, Clydesdale Bank, Portobello.
JOHN HOGGEN, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.

REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING OF THE CLUB was held in the Old Council Room, City Chambers, on the afternoon of Friday, 28th January 1910, at 4 o'clock.

The Right Honourable W. S. BROWN, Lord Provost of the City, presided. There was a large attendance of ladies and gentlemen.

Apologies were intimated from The Right Hon. the Earl of Cassillis, Sir James Balfour Paul, Sir Robert Usher, Mr. C. E. Price, M.P., Col. Gordon Gilmour, Professor Hume Brown, Rev. W. Russell Finlay, Mr. W. Fraser Dobie, Mr. Mackenzie Bell, Mr. John B. Clark, M.A., and Mr. John Hamilton, C.A.

The Secretary submitted the Second Annual Report, which is in the following terms :—

The Council beg to submit to the Club the Second Annual Report.

At the date of the First Annual Meeting of the Club, on 29th January 1909, there were 179 members on the roll. Within a short time thereafter the full number of 300 was reached.

During the year there have been 14 vacancies. These have been filled up, and there still remain 27 names on the list of applicants waiting admission.

The following meetings were held during the year, viz. :—

1. LECTURE ON 'PRINCE CHARLES IN EDINBURGH IN 1745.'

A General Meeting of the members was held in Dowell's Rooms on the evening of Wednesday, 17th March 1909. There

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was a crowded attendance, and the Chair was occupied by Mr. W. B. Blaikie, President of the Club. A lecture on 'Prince Charles in Edinburgh in 1745' was delivered by the Chairman.

In response to a generally expressed desire, Mr. Blaikie placed his lecture at the disposal of the Editorial Committee, and it will accordingly appear in the forthcoming volume of the Book of the Club.

2. WALK :—CASTLEHILL TO NETHERBOW.

The first of a series of outings took place on the afternoon of Saturday, 19th June 1909. The party, numbering about 100, met at the Outlook Tower, Castlehill, and proceeded down the Lawnmarket and High Street in three sections under the respective leadership of Mr. Bruce J. Home, Mr. John Geddie, and Mr. Robert T. Skinner. Among the places of interest visited in the course of the walk were *The Cannon-ball House*, so called from a bullet said to have been fired from the Castle in 1745, and still sticking in the wall. *Ramsay Garden*, the site of Allan Ramsay's House. *The Outlook Tower*, on the site of which stood the Mansion of Ramsay of Cockpen. *West Bow Head*, where the business of Thomas Nelson and Sons, Publishers, was commenced. *Riddle's Court*, where David Hume wrote a portion of his famous history of England, and in the inner square of which is the house of Bailie Macmorran, a city magnate of the days of Queen Mary and James VI. *Brodie's Close*, so called after the noted Deacon Brodie. This close has a fine old hall containing two fine plaster ceilings of the reign of Charles I. *Gladstone's Land*, where still may be seen the last example of the Arcade, once an almost universal feature in Old Edinburgh streets. *Lady Stair's Close*, named after Elizabeth, Countess of Stair, the heroine of Scott's 'My Aunt Margaret's Mirror.' *Byre's Close*, one of the best surviving examples of an Old Edinburgh close. Here was the town-house of John Byres of Coates, and also the residence of Bishop Bothwell, who

officiated at the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots. *Craig's Close*, in which stood the office of Andro Hart, one of the earlier and most famous Scottish printers. *Blackfriars Street*, where are still to be seen the remains of the town-house of the Regent Morton. *Fountain Close*, chiefly remembered as the home of Bassandyne, whose famous folio Bible was issued in 1576-9, and *Tweeddale Court*, in which was the mansion-house of the Tweeddale family, and later the Office of the British Linen Bank, and which was also the scene of the Begbie tragedy of 1806.

3. VISIT TO COATES HOUSE AND DONALDSON'S HOSPITAL.

On Saturday afternoon, 3rd July 1909, the second walk of investigation took place. About a hundred members met at Palmerston Place, and proceeded to visit Old Coates House, within the precincts of St. Mary's Cathedral. Here Mr. John Geddie acted as guide, and gave a detailed description of the house. It was built, he said, in 1610 by John Byres, but Sir Gilbert Scott, the architect of the cathedral, examined the building very carefully, and was of opinion that part of the south end dated from the fourteenth or fifteenth century, and that the house was probably a hunting lodge in the ancient forest of Drumsheugh. The ownership had passed through several families. One of the later proprietors, Sir Patrick Walker, some eighty years ago, transferred to Coates many of the sculptured stones from the buildings of the Old Town, and to-day it was practically a museum of domestic antiquities. The party also inspected the remarkable frescoes in the Cathedral Song School, the work of the Edinburgh artist, Mrs. Traquair, executed about twenty years ago. The members of the Club then proceeded to Donaldson's Hospital, over which they were conducted by Mr. Robert T. Skinner, house-governor. In the Council Room was shown the portrait of Alexander Donaldson, bookseller, who in 1764 founded the *Edinburgh*

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Advertiser, as well as the portrait of his son, James Donaldson, the founder of the institution, with various relics of the founder's family and portraits of others connected with the hospital, among them being that of Playfair, its architect. The hospital was opened in 1850, having taken nine years to build. It was visited by Queen Victoria, Prince Albert, and their four oldest children a few weeks before the opening, and it was on this occasion that the myth arose that Her Majesty had said she would willingly live there if the nation would purchase it for her. What she actually did say, it was explained, was that Donaldson's Hospital was finer than any of her Scottish palaces. The party was conducted over the building, including the beautiful chapel, which contains the earliest specimen of figure-stained glass in Scotland. From the grounds the Covenanters' tree in the Haugh below could be seen. This is an ancient thorn where, according to one tradition, the Covenanters assembled to meet their comrades from the western shires, but dispersed on hearing of their rout by General Dalziel at Rullion Green, while by another tradition it was the resting-place for the night of Dalziel before starting to meet the Covenanting insurgents. By invitation of the Governors of Donaldson's Hospital, the members were invited to tea. On the motion of Mr. Walter B. Blaikie, the Chairman of the Club, Mr. Geddie and Mr. Skinner were cordially thanked for their interesting descriptions, and the Governors, the house-governor, and the matron for their kind hospitality.

4. WALK :—NETHERBOW TO HOLYROOD.

The third of a series of outings took place on Saturday afternoon, 17th July 1909, in ideal weather. The party, numbering 120 members and friends, met at John Knox's House, and proceeded down the Canongate in two sections under the respective guidance of Mr. Bruce J. Home and Mr. R. T. Skinner. Among the most notable of the closes visited

were Chessel's Court, where Deacon Brodie burgled the Excise Office; the Old Playhouse Close, where the Rev. John Home's tragedy, *Douglas*, was produced; Panmure Close, where Adam Smith spent the last twelve years of his life; and Whitehorse Close, where the Covenanting Lords met with a view to sending a deputation to Charles I. at Berwick, and where, in 1745, Prince Charlie's officers were quartered. The houses noted included that of Lord Kames, judge, historian, and agriculturist; of James Ballantyne, Walter Scott's friend and printer; of the eccentric Lord Monboddo, whose learned suppers were famous, and whose beautiful daughter charmed Robert Burns; and Queensberry House, in which the third Duchess, a beauty of the court of George I., Prior's 'Kitty ever fair,' entertained the poet Gray. The members viewed with interest Golfer's Land, purchased with the stake won in a foursome against Englishmen by John Paterson, a Canongate shoemaker, and James, Duke of York. An object worthy of notice was the Canongate Tolbooth, with the Scoto-French tower and spire still standing as built by James VI. in 1591. The old house of the Huntly family was of particular interest. It still presents to the street a picturesque row of timber-fronted gables, resting on a row of carved corbels and a cornice projecting from the basement, and a series of sculptured tablets adorn it, filled with certain pious phrases peculiar to the sixteenth century. It is one of the few remaining timber-fronted buildings in Edinburgh, and is known as 'The Speaking House.' Moray House received a considerable amount of attention, with the magnificent ceilings as Cromwell must have seen them, and with the historic balcony, from which the Lorne wedding guests looked down on Montrose being conveyed to execution. Lodge Canongate Kilwinning was shown to the party by members of the Lodge, some thus seeing for the first time the hall in which Burns was welcomed during his visit to Edinburgh.

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5. HOLYROOD PALACE.

On the afternoon of Saturday, 23rd October 1909, the members visited the Palace of Holyrood House, and, by permission of the Right Hon. The Lord Chamberlain, had the privilege of seeing the Royal Apartments.

The party, numbering about 200, assembled in the Picture Gallery. Mr. W. T. Oldrieve, F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.Scot., Principal Architect, H.M. Office of Works, who had kindly agreed to act as leader, welcomed the members, and gave a short description of the Palace. After a few preliminary remarks, he exhibited a plan indicating distinctively the various parts of the buildings as erected at different periods, *i.e.* (1) the remnant of the ancient twelfth-century Abbey incorporated in what remains of the Nave of the Church of the Holy Rood; (2) the Great Tower of the original Palace commenced by James IV. in 1498, and now forming the north-west tower of the Palace, and (3) the later Palace built by Charles II.

The party were then admitted to the Royal Apartments, where they were received by Mr. Frank H. Parsons, Chief Inspector of the Palace. The apartments consist of the Queen's Breakfast-Room, the Vestibule, Prince Albert's Dressing-Room, Queen Victoria's Bedroom, the Queen's Drawing-Room, the Evening Drawing-Room, and the Throne Room. The decoration of the ceilings, tapestries, and the richly carved woodwork of the doors and chimney-pieces were much admired. Special attention was directed to 'The Darnley Memorial Picture,' which represents King James VI. and his brother Charles and the Earl and Countess of Lennox kneeling before an altar in a chapel containing the effigy of the murdered Prince, and praying for vengeance on the assassin. Returning to the Picture Gallery, the members visited and inspected the Historical Apartments of the Palace and the Chapel-Royal, attention being drawn to the work of restoration of the

ancient masonry in progress. The heavy rain unfortunately interfered with the inspection of the exterior of the buildings, and prevented the party from having a more leisurely and complete examination of features of interest.

At the meeting of Council on 1st December last, a cordial vote of thanks was awarded to Mr. Oldrieve and Mr. Parsons for their courtesy and kindness to the members of the Club.

The Editorial Committee have selected the following papers to form the volume for 1909 of the *Book of the Old Edinburgh Club*, viz. :—

1. Edinburgh at the Time of the Occupation of Prince Charles, by Mr. W. B. Blaikie.
2. The Flodden Wall of Edinburgh, by Mr. W. Moir Bryce.
3. The Covenanters' Prison in the Inner Greyfriars Yard, by Mr. W. Moir Bryce.
4. The Cannon-ball House, by Mr. Bruce J. Home.
5. The Sculptured Stones of Edinburgh : II. The West-End and Dalry Groups, by Mr. John Geddie.
6. An Eighteenth-Century Survival : The Wagering Club, 1775, by Mr. Jas. B. Sutherland.
7. At the Back of St. James's Square, by Mr. James Steuart.
8. Edinburgh Street Traders and their Cries, by Mr. J. H. Jamieson.
9. Old Cellars and Relics discovered during the Excavations for the new Chapel at St. Giles' Cathedral, by Mr. Francis C. Inglis.
10. Statues of Justice and Mercy, from the Old Parliament House, by Thomas Ross, LL.D.

Some delay has occurred in the preparation of the book, mainly in connection with the illustrations, of which there are a considerable number, but the volume is now all in type, and will shortly be issued to members.

The Council will be glad to know of any unpublished

10 REPORT OF THE SECOND ANNUAL MEETING

manuscripts relating to Edinburgh, which the owners might be willing to place at the disposal of the Club for publication.

The Treasurer submitted the financial statement, from which it appeared that the balance in hand was £170, 1s. 10d.

The LORD PROVOST, in moving the adoption of the report, said he agreed with Lord Rosebery that the fact of the Lord Provost, Magistrates, and Council of Edinburgh being patrons of that Club might be taken as something in the nature of a pledge that they would, so far as lay in their power, always respect the ancient monuments of the city. At the last meeting Lord Rosebery had quoted from the Book of the Club what he (Lord Rosebery) called a most dismal and sinister sentence—‘It may be safely affirmed that since 1860 two-thirds of the ancient buildings of the Old Town of Edinburgh had been demolished.’ That was to say, that within the lives of many of them present—and certainly within his own—two-thirds of the ancient monuments, the crumbling old houses which formed so distinguished and historical a feature, had been swept away. He (the Lord Provost) was afraid that the writer had gone somewhat beyond what were the real facts. He could speak personally of what the Town Council, and especially the Committee who had charge of the removal of old slum buildings, had done during the last twenty-five years, and very specially since 1901 onwards. He thought the words reflected upon Sir James Russell, the late Bailie Dunlop, and others who had followed. He would like to clear the air a little by telling them what were the facts and what had been the practice in connection with the houses which had been removed. No one regretted it more than the members of the Town Council that many of the houses had had to be removed, and their minutes of Committee would show that it was not done without grave consideration. It was recognised as of the greatest importance that these old buildings should be left if it was at all possible, and the late Mr. Cooper reported upon them. They were also visited from time to time by members of the Committee, and he was not aware of any buildings having been ruthlessly removed. He thought the greatest care had been taken in the removal of many of the buildings. He thought it was necessary to make these remarks in order that the truth of the matter might be known. As to the objects of the Club, if it was better known—and he was glad to think that it was becoming better known every day—it would hold a high

place as one of the most useful organisations in the city. He assured them that so long as the present Town Council existed, they would be only too willing to embrace every opportunity for the furtherance of the objects for which the Club existed.

Mr. W. B. BLAIKIE moved the election of Lord Rosebery as Hon. President, and the Lord Provost, Sir James Balfour Paul, Professor Hume Brown, and Professor Chiene as Hon. Vice-Presidents, which was agreed to. Mr. W. B. Blaikie was elected President. Mr. James B. Sutherland, S.S.C., Mr. H. J. Blanc, R.S.A., and Mr. Bruce J. Home were appointed Vice-Presidents, with Mr. Lewis A. MacRitchie as Secretary, Mr. Hugh Carbarns as Treasurer, and Mr. John Hamilton, C.A., as Auditor. Mr. W. Fraser Dobie, Mr. John A. Fairley, Mr. W. Moir Bryce, and Mr. Thomas B. Whitson, C.A., were elected members of Council in room of Mr. Bruce J. Home, Mr. Robert T. Skinner, Dr. Lowe, and Mr. Adam Smail, who retire.

A hearty vote of thanks was awarded to the retiring office-bearers and members of Council.

In terms of Rule III. the applications for membership provisionally accepted by the Council were submitted and unanimously approved.

The President moved a vote of thanks to the Lord Provost for presiding, and the proceedings terminated.

Old Edinburgh Club ABSTRACT OF RECEIPTS AND PAYMENTS

From 26th January 1909 to 31st December 1909.

RECEIPTS		PAYMENTS	
1. Funds at close of last Account, 26th January 1909,	£60 6 7	1. Printing, stationery, and advertising (including cost of printing first volume of publications),	£102 1 0
2. Subscriptions received :—		2. Expenses of Meetings,	6 18 3
(a) For year 1908 :—		3. Miscellaneous (postages, etc.),	5 13 0
(1) Members, 150 at 10s. 6d., £78 15 0			£114 12 3
(2) Libraries, 18 at 10s. 6d., 9 9 0			
(3) Associates, balance on be- coming full members, 2 at 8s. each,	0 16 0		
	£89 0 0		
(b) For Year 1909 :—			
(1) Members, 254 at 10s. 6d., £133 7 0		Funds at 31st December 1909— In Clydesdale Bank, Ltd.—	
(2) Associates, 12 at 2s. 6d., 1 10 0		1. On Deposit-Receipt, . £50 0 0	
(3) Libraries, 1 at 10s. 6d., 0 10 6		2. On Current Account, . 82 4 7	
	135 7 6	3. In hands of Treasurer, 37 17 3	170 1 10
	224 7 6		
	£284 14 1		

H. CARBARNES, *Hon. Treas.*

EDINBURGH, 34 YORK PLACE, 28th January 1910.—I have examined the Accounts of the Honorary Treasurer's Intrmmissions of the Old Edinburgh Club for the period from 26th January 1909 to 31st December 1909, of which the above is an Abstract, and find them correctly stated and sufficiently vouched and instructed.

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., *Hon. Auditor.*

Old Edinburgh Club

LIST OF MEMBERS

1909

ALEXANDER, JAMES, 45 Cluny Drive.
Alexander, Miss M. A., 11 Torphichen Street.
Anderson, David, Advocate, 10 India Street.
Anderson, Miss Helen Maud, 12 Learmonth Terrace.
Anderson, James, 1 Corrennie Drive.
Anderson, Walter G., 31 Drummond Place.
Angus, William, Historical Dept., H.M. Register House.
Armitage, Mrs. H. A., The Grange, North Berwick.
Armstrong, John Johnston, Clunie, Broomieknowe.

BAIRD, WILLIAM, J.P., Clydesdale Bank House, Portobello.
Balfour, Prof. Isaac Bayley, Inverleith House.
Barbour, James S., 2 Blackford Road.
Barnett, David, Corporation Museum.
Barrett, J. A. S., M.A., Tayview, 187 Perth Road, Dundee.
Barrie, John A., 114 Viewforth.
Barton, W. D., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.
Baxendine, Andrew, Melbourne House, Sciennes Road.
Baxter, David, M.A., Elmhurst, Cramond Bridge.
Bell, Mackenzie, 11 Buckingham Gate, London, S.W.
Berry, Robert, 18 Kilmaurs Terrace.
Blaikie, Walter Biggar, 11 Thistle Street.
Blair, Mrs. Robert, 12 Clarendon Crescent.
Blanc, Hippolyte J., R.S.A., 25 Rutland Square.
Bonar, Horatius, W.S., 3 St. Margaret's Road.
Bonnar, William, 51 Braid Avenue.
Bowman, John, c/o Baillie, 132 Dalkeith Road.
Boyes, John, 73 Slateford Road.
Brotherston, G. M., 23 Jeffrey Street.
Brown, Mrs. David, Willowbrae House, Willowbrae Road.
Brown, Prof. G. Baldwin, 50 George Square.
Brown, James R., 46 Inverleith Place.
Brown, Miss Joan, 171 Dalkeith Road.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Brown, Prof. P. Hume, LL.D., 20 Corrennie Gardens.
 Bruce, Alexander, Clyne House, Pollokshields.
 Bruce, Alexander, M.D., LL.D., 8 Ainslie Place.
 Bruce, James, W.S., 59 Great King Street.
 Bryce, P. Ross, F.S.A.Scot., 1 Lady Road.
 Bryce, Wm. Moir, F.S.A.Scot., Dunedin, Blackford Road.
 Burnett, Rev. W., B.D., Restalrig Manse, Lismore Crescent.

CALDERWOOD, Rev. R. S., Cambuslang.
 Cameron, James, 1 So. St. David Street.
 Cameron, James M., 26 Melville Terrace.
 Campbell, David, S.S.C., 31 Moray Place.
 Campbell, J. D. B., The University Club, Princes Street.
 Carbars, Hugh, 25 Braidburn Crescent.
 Cargill, Alexander, J.P., 18 Wester Coates Gardens.
 Carmichael, James T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.
 Carmichael, Sir T. D. Gibson, Bart., Malleny House, Balerno.
 Carmichael, Thomas, S.S.C., 2 Strathearn Place.
 Cassillis, Right Hon. The Earl of, Culzean Castle, Maybole.
 Caverhill, T. F. S., M.B., 6 Manor Place.
 Chiene, John, C.B., Aithernie, Davidson's Mains.
 Chrystal, F. M., 5 Belgrave Crescent.
 Clark, Alexander, Record Office, Register House.
 Clark, John B., M.A., F.R.S.E., Heriot's Hospital.
 Clarkson, James Copland, 20 Forth Street.
 Cochrane, Robert, 52 Morningside Drive.
 Cockburn, Harry A., 37 Royal Avenue, Chelsea, S.W.
 Cooper, W. Ross, M.A., 94 George Street.
 Cormack, D. S., 16 Dalziel Place, London Road.
 Couper, Rev. W. J., M.A., 26 Circus Drive, Glasgow.
 Cowan, John James, Westerlea, Murrayfield.
 Cowan, William, 47 Braid Avenue.
 Craig, Sterling, M.A., 18 Buccleuch Place.
 Cranston, Sir Robert, K.C.V.O., V.D., Dunard, Grange Loan.
 Crawford, George, 60 Marchmont Road.
 Cumming, David, 32 St. Alban's Road.

DALGLEISH, JOHN J. (of Westgrange), Brankston Grange, Alloa.
 Darling, Alexander, J.P., 23 South Oswald Road.
 Dawson, Rev. A. C., M.A., Rathillet Manse, Cupar, Fife.

LIST OF MEMBERS

15

Dick, Thomas, S.S.C., 71 East Trinity Road, Leith.
Dobbie, Joseph, S.S.C., 26 Charlotte Square.
Dobie, W. Fraser, 47 Grange Road.
Donald, A. Graham, M.A., F.F.A., 34 Marchmont Road.
Douglas, R. A., Glenosmond, Inverleith Terrace.
Dow, James, 53 Princes Street.
Dowden, Right Rev. John, D.D., LL.D., 13 Learmonth Terrace.
Drummond, W. J. A., C.A., 37 George Street.

EADIE, ANDREW, 22 Melville Terrace.
Elliot, Andrew, 17 Princes Street.
Elliot, Stuart Douglas, S.S.C., 40 Princes Street.

FAIRLEY, John A., 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.
Fergus, James A., 27 Braid Road.
Ferguson, James Haig, M.D., 7 Coates Crescent.
Ferguson, Mrs. Haig, 7 Coates Crescent.
Ferrier, J. S., 20 Blantyre Terrace.
Findlay, James, 11 Morningside Gardens.
Finlay, Rev. W. Russell, Trashurst, Dorking, Surrey.
Finlay, W. F., W.S., 1 Forres Street.
Flint, James, 12 Comiston Terrace.
Forbes, Miss Mabel C., 4 Grosvenor Crescent.
Forrest, John L., 8 Glengyle Terrace.
Fortune, R., S.S.C., 35 Mansionhouse Road.
Fox, Charles Henry, M.D., 35 Heriot Row.
Fyfe, William, 2 Deanbank Terrace.

GARVEN, JAMES, Pinkie Pans, Musselburgh.
Geddie, John, 16 Ann Street.
Gibb, James A. T., I.S.O., 8 Dalkeith Street, Portobello.
Gibson, Sir James P., Bart., M.P., 33 Regent Terrace.
Gibson, James T., W.S., 14 Regent Terrace.
Gibson, Thomas, 7 Glengyle Terrace.
Giles, Arthur, F.R.S.G.S., 191 Bruntsfield Place.
Gilmour, Col. R. Gordon, of Craigmillar, The Inch, Liberton.
Gissing, Algernon, 66 Marchmont Road.
Glasse, Rev. John, D.D., 16 Tantallon Place.
Goudie, Gilbert, 31 Great King Street.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

Graham, R. D., M.A., F.R.S.E., 11 Strathearn Road.
Grant, John, 39 George Square.
Grant, William, J.P., 22 Mansionhouse Road.
Gray, James, 29 Polwarth Gardens.
Gray, Robert Collie, S.S.C., 10 Hermitage Drive.
Gray, W. Forbes, 11 Lutton Place.
Green, Charles E., 4 St. Giles Street.
Greig, Thomas B., Woodridge, Dalkeith.
Grierson, Andrew, 29 Mayfield Road.
Guy, John C., Sheriff-Substitute, 7 Darnaway Street.

HAMILTON, JOHN, C.A., 34 York Place.
Hardie, J. P., 15 Rothesay Place.
Hardie, R. S. L., Ashley, Ratho.
Harkness, John, 91 Spottiswoode Street.
Harrison, John, Rockville, 3 Napier Road.
Hay, William J., John Knox's House, High Street.
Heron, Alexander, S.S.C., 14 Merchiston Park.
Hewat, Archd., F.R.S.E., F.S.A.Scot., 13 Eton Terrace.
Hogben, John, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
Home, Bruce J., 5 Upper Gray Street.
Home, Miss Jessie Wood, 5 Upper Gray Street.
Home, Robert, 64 Frederick Street.
Hope, Thomas, 129 Paynes Road, Southampton.
Hunter, Thomas, W.S., Town Clerk, City Chambers.
Hutcheson, Alexander, M.A., 4 Denham Green Avenue.

INGLIS, FRANCIS CAIRD, F.S.A.Scot., Rock House, Calton Hill.
Inglis, George, 1 Rillbank Terrace.
Inglis, John, 11 Hillside Street.
Inman, William, 11 Newbattle Terrace.
Innes, W., 5 Danube Street.
Irvine, Miss Emily, 65 Morningside Park.

JACK, THOMAS CHATER, 18 Corrennie Gardens.
Jameson, James H., W.S., 16 Coates Crescent.
Jamieson, James H., 54 Bruntsfield Gardens.
Johnston, George Harvey, 22 Garscube Terrace.
Johnstone, David, 75 Hanover Street.

LIST OF MEMBERS

17

KAY, Rev. Prof. DAVID MILLER, D.D., The University, St. Andrews.

Kay, John Telfer, 20 London Street.

Kelly, John G., 3 Whitehouse Loan.

Kemp, Alexander, 227 Dalkeith Road.

Kerr, Rev. John, M.A., The Manse, Dirleton.

King, John A., 35 Morningside Park.

King, Miss Margaret P., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.

Kippen, John, M.A., Castlehill School, Lawnmarket.

Kirk, Rev. John, 17 Greenhill Gardens.

LANGWILL, H. G., M.D., F.R.C.P.E., 4 Hermitage Place, Leith.

Latimer, George Brown, 143-7 Lothian Road.

Learmont, James, 47 Polwarth Gardens.

Leckie, John, Brookfield, 19 South Oswald Road.

Lee, George A. J., W.S., Depute-Keeper of Records, Register House.

Lindsay, William, 18 St. Andrew Street.

Lorimer, George, Durisdeer, Gillsland Road.

Low, Rev. George D., 65 Morningside Drive.

Lowe, D. F., LL.D., 19 George Square.

Lyle, James, Waverley, Queen's Crescent.

M'ADAM, GEORGE, Anneville, Craigcrook Gardens, Blackhall.

M'Donald, A. Minto, M.B., 108 Gilmore Place.

Macdonald, Wm. Rae, F.F.A., Neidpath, Wester Coates Avenue.

Macfarlane-Grieve, W.A., M.A., J.P., Impington Park, Cambridgeshire.

Macfarlane, W. W., 10 Tipperlinn Road.

Macfie, Daniel, 56 St. Alban's Road.

M'Guffie, R. A., 16 St. Andrew Square.

MacIntosh, Mrs. Mary Hay, 23a Dick Place.

Macintyre, P. M., Advocate, 12 India Street.

Mackay, Eneas, 43 Murray Place, Stirling.

Mackay, James F., W.S., Whitehouse, Cramond Bridge.

Mackay, John, S.S.C., 37 York Place,

Mackay, L. M., 13 Windsor Street.

Mackay, William, Solicitor, Inverness.

Mackay, William, M.A., 3 Danube Street.

M'Kenzie, James, 201 Morningside Road.

M'Lean, Miss, 19 Coates Crescent.

M'Lean, Miss Frances A., 19 Coates Crescent.

M'Leod, Alex. N., 6 Sylvan Place.

THE OLD EDINBURGH CLUB

McLeod, Neil, Abden, 66 Polwarth Terrace.
 Macphail, J. R. N., 55 Great King Street.
 MacRitchie, Lewis A., 40 Princes Street.
 McTaggart, John, 5 Argyle Park Terrace.
 Maltman, A. J., 61 Brunswick Street.
 Manson, James A., Savage Club, Adelphi Terrace, London, W.C.
 Manson, William, 18 Esslemont Road.
 Martin, R. E., 20 Annandale Street.
 Maughan, Wm. C., Ivy Lodge, Musselburgh.
 Mears, Frank C., Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.
 Melles, J. W., of Gruline, Aros, Isle of Mull.
 Melven, William, 7 Jedburgh Gardens, Kelvinside, Glasgow.
 Menzies, John R., 3 Grosvenor Crescent.
 Middleton, James Aitken, M.D., Manorhead, Stow.
 Milne, Archibald, M.A., 108 Comiston Drive.
 Milne, H. W., National Bank House, 41 St. Andrew Square.
 Minto, John, M.A., 83 Comiston Drive.
 Mitchell, Sir Arthur, K.C.B., M.D., LL.D., 34 Drummond Place.
 Mitchell, Charles, C.E., 23 Hill Street.
 Mitchell, William, M.A., LL.B., 27 Howe Street.
 Morris, George, 339 High Street.
 Moscrip, James, Parsonsgreen House, Meadowbank.
 Murdoch, James C., M.A., 13 Albert Terrace, Musselburgh.
 Murdoch, Lieut.-Col. James, V.D., St. Kilda, York Road, Trinity.
 Murray, Andrew E., W.S., 43 Castle Street.

NAPIER, THEODORE, F.S.A.Scot., Balmanno, 7 West Castle Road.

OGILVIE, Rev. J. N., M.A., 15 Chalmers Crescent.
 Oldrieve, W. T., F.R.I.B.A., F.S.A.Scot., 11 Merchiston Gardens.
 Oliver, James, 11 Claremont Terrace.
 Omond, T. S., 14 Calverley Park, Tunbridge Wells.
 Orrock, Alexander, 13 Dick Place.

PATON, Rev. HENRY, M.A., Airtnoch, 184 Mayfield Road.
 Paton, Henry Macleod, 16 Comiston Terrace.
 Paton, Robert, City Chamberlain, City Chambers.
 Paul, Sir James Balfour, LL.D., 30 Heriot Row.
 Peddie, Miss Barbara, Ard-Coille, Blair Atholl.
 Petrie, James A., 2 Chancelot Terrace, Ferry Road.

LIST OF MEMBERS

19

Plummer, W. R., 8 Huntly Street.
 Price, Charles E., M.P., 10 Atholl Crescent.
 Profit, Alexander P., Jacob's Land, 55 Calton Road.
 Proudfoot, George, 68 Spottiswoode Street.
 Pursell, James, Rhynd Lodge, Seafield, Leith.

REID, ALAN, The Loaning, Merchiston Bank Gardens.
 Reid, John, 46 Strathearn Road.
 Reid, Mrs., Lauriston Castle, Midlothian.
 Richardson, Ralph, W.S., 2 Parliament Square.
 Robbie, J. Cameron, 22 York Place.
 Robertson, David, LL.B., S.S.C., 42 Leith Walk, Leith.
 Robertson, William, 10 Atholl Place.
 Romanes, Charles S., C.A., 3 Abbotsford Crescent.
 Rosebery, The Right Hon. The Earl of, K.G., K.T., Dalmeny House.
 Ross, Andrew, Falcon Bank, Liberton Brae.
 Ross, Thomas, 14 Saxe-Cobourg Place.
 Russell, John, 320 Leith Walk.

SALVESEN, MISS DOROTHY, Dean Park House.
 Sanderson, Arthur, 25 Learmonth Terrace.
 Sanderson, Miss Cecilia, Talbot House, 216 Ferry Road.
 Sanderson, Kenneth, W.S., 5 Abercromby Place.
 Scott, John, W.S., 13 Hill Street.
 Scougal, A. E., LL.D., 1 Wester Coates Avenue.
 Seton, Lieut.-Col., 12 Granton Road.
 Shennan, James W., Hermitage, Wardie Crescent.
 Shepherd, Fred. P., M.A., 15 Craiglockhart Terrace.
 Sime, David, 27 Dundas Street.
 Sinclair, A. W., 17 Comely Bank Street.
 Sinton, James, Hassendean, Eastfield, Joppa.
 Skinner, Robert T., M.A., F.R.S.E., Donaldson's Hospital.
 Smail, Adam, 35 Lauriston Gardens.
 Smart, John, W.S., 56 Queen Street.
 Smith, George, M.A., Merchiston Castle.
 Smith, J. C., 91 Lothian Road.
 Smith, J. Shankie, Heriot Hill House, Canonmills.
 Smith, John, Cabinetmaker, 1 Eastgate, Peebles.
 Smith, Malcolm, J.P., Provost of Leith, Clifton Lodge, Trinity.
 Smith, Rev. R. Nimmo, LL.D., 5 St. Bernard's Crescent.

Steedman, James, 72 Morningside Drive.
Stephen, William A., M.A., M.D., Loftus-in-Cleveland, Yorkshire.
Steuart, James, W.S., 10 Rothesay Terrace.
Stewart, Ian C. L., W.S., 28 India Street.
Stewart, John, 88 George Street.
Sturrock, John, Junr., Peffermill House, Craigmillar.
Sturrock, Rev. John, 3 Mansionhouse Road.
Sutherland, James B., S.S.C., 10 Royal Terrace.

THIN, GEORGE T., 7 Mayfield Terrace.
Thin, James, 22 Lauder Road.
Thin, James Hay, 2 Chalmers Crescent.
Thin, Robert, M.D., 25 Abercromby Place.
Thomson, Alexander B., M.A., 22 Lauriston Place.
Thomson, Miss Alice, 23 Wester Coates Avenue.
Thomson, James W., Braemount, Liberton.
Thomson, Spencer C., 10 Eglinton Crescent.
Thomson, T. S., 18 Rothesay Place.
Thomson, William, W.S., 19 Merchiston Avenue.
Tod, Henry, W.S., 45 Castle Street.
Torrance, Miss Jessie, 54 Henderson Row.
Turnbull, George, Duncloth, Wardie Road.
Turnbull, G. Barbour, Kilravock, Blackford Avenue.
Turnbull, J. M., Craigcrook Road, Blackhall.

USHER, Sir ROBERT, Bart., 37 Drumsheugh Gardens.

VEITCH, G. SETON, Friarshall, Paisley.
Voge, Mrs., 4 Cluny Avenue.

WALKER, ALEXANDER, J.P., 1 Tipperlinn Road.
Walker, W. Glassford, C.A., 39 George Street.
Walkinshaw, Miss Jean Inglis, 11 Scotland Street.
Wallace, A. D., Craigneuk, 53 Gilmour Road.
Watherston, John, 8 Wester Coates Gardens.
Watson, Charles B. Boog, 1 Napier Road.
Watson, John, F.R.I.B.A., 27 Rutland Street.
Whitson, Thomas B., C.A., 21 Rutland Street.
Whittaker, Charles R., M.D., 12 Fountainhall Road.
Williams, Mrs. A., 8 Frederick Street.

LIST OF MEMBERS

21

Williamson, Rev. Andrew Wallace, D.D., 44 Palmerston Place.
Williamson, George, 178 High Street.
Williamson, J. A., Holmwood, Corstorphine.
Wilson, William Scott, 94 Craighouse Road.
Wood, G. M., Junr., W.S., 19 Alva Street.
Wright, Gordon L., 9 Cluny Terrace.
Wright, James, 105 Warrender Park Road.
Wright, Johnstone Christie, Northfield, Colinton.

YOUNG, WILLIAM, Donaldson's Hospital.

ASSOCIATES

ANNAN, EDWARD, 14 Hertford Drive, Liscard, Cheshire.
Carmichael, Mrs. J. T., Viewfield, Duddingston Park.
Craig, Miss, 18 Buccleuch Place.
Davis, W. J. H. G., 65 Warrender Park Road.
Drummond, Andrew, 17 Gardner's Crescent.
Durham, Mrs., Milton Road, Joppa.
Ferguson, Miss Jessie, The Lodge, Forbes Road.
Geddes, Professor Patrick, Outlook Tower, Lawnmarket.
Gibb, John, 24 Nelson Street.
Gibson, Miss, 51 Lothian Road.
Gibson, Miss, 14 Regent Terrace.
Grant, James R., S.S.C., 39 Frederick Street.
Harper, George, 15 Oxford Street.
King, David, Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
King, Miss Lottie A., Osborne Nursery House, Murrayfield.
Lownie, James H. W., 7 Admiral Terrace.
Middleton, Miss Charlotte Erskine, Manorhead, Stow.
Middleton, Miss Harriet Aitken, Manorhead, Stow.
Ritchie, Patrick, 31 Comely Bank Road.
Sinclair, John, St. Ann's, Queen's Crescent.
Todd, William, 12 East Mayfield.

LIBRARIES

Aberdeen Public Library.
Aberdeen University Library.
Antiquaries, Society of, Edinburgh.
Bodleian Library, Oxford.
Edinburgh Architectural Association.
Edinburgh Public Library.
Edinburgh University Club.
Edinburgh University Library.
Episcopal Church Theological College, Edinburgh.
Harvard University Library, Cambridge, Mass.
John Rylands Library, Manchester.
Mitchell Library, Glasgow.
New Club, Edinburgh.
Philosophical Institution, Edinburgh.
Reform Club, Pall Mall, London, S.W.
Signet Library, Edinburgh.
Solicitors before the Supreme Court, Society of, Edinburgh.
Speculative Society, Edinburgh.
Toronto Public Library, Canada.

Old Edinburgh Club

1910

Honorary Patrons

THE LORD PROVOST, MAGISTRATES, AND COUNCIL
OF THE CITY OF EDINBURGH.

Honorary President

THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF ROSEBERY, K.G., K.T.

Honorary Vice-Presidents

THE RIGHT HON. THE LORD PROVOST OF EDINBURGH.
SIR JAMES BALFOUR PAUL, LL.D., Lyon King of Arms.
Professor P. HUME BROWN, LL.D.
Professor JOHN CHIENE, C.B.

President

WALTER B. BLAIKIE.

Vice-Presidents

JAMES B. SUTHERLAND, S.S.C.
HIPPOLYTE J. BLANC, R.S.A.
BRUCE J. HOME.

Secretary

LEWIS A. MACRITCHIE, 40 Princes Street.

Treasurer

HUGH CARBARN, 25 Braidburn Crescent.

Council

ROBERT COCHRANE, 52 Morningside Drive.
J. CAMERON ROBBIE, 22 York Place.
JAMES OLIVER, 11 Claremont Terrace.
THOMAS ROSS, Architect, 14 Saxe-Cobourg Place.
WILLIAM COWAN, 47 Braid Avenue.
JOHN GEDDIE, 16 Ann Street.
WILLIAM BAIRD, Clydesdale Bank, Portobello.
JOHN HOGGEN, 9 Duddingston Crescent, Portobello.
W. FRASER DOBIE, 47 Grange Road.
JOHN A. FAIRLEY, 3 Barnton Gardens, Barnton Gate.
W. MOIR BRYCE, Dunedin, Blackford Road.
THOMAS B. WHITSON, C.A., 21 Rutland Street.

Auditor

JOHN HAMILTON, C.A., 34 York Place.

CONSTITUTION

I. The name of the Club shall be the 'Old Edinburgh Club.'

II. The objects of the Club shall be the collection and authentication of oral and written statements or documentary evidence relating to Edinburgh; the gathering of existing traditions, legends, and historical data; and the selecting and printing of material desirable for future reference.

III. The Club shall consist of Members and Associates. The number of Members shall be limited to three hundred. Candidates for membership, either as Members or Associates, must be proposed and seconded by two Members. Applications for membership must be sent to the Secretary in writing, and shall be considered by the Council. These, if approved, shall be submitted to the first meeting of the Club thereafter, election being by a majority of Members present.

Associates shall have no vote or voice in the management of the affairs of the Club, but shall be entitled to free admission to the meetings and to take part in the discussion of any subject under investigation.

IV. The Annual Subscription for Members shall be 10s. 6d., and for Associates, 2s. 6d.

Subscriptions shall be payable at the commencement of each Session. Any Member or Associate whose subscription is not paid within two months after being notified by the Treasurer may then be struck off the roll by the Council.

V. The affairs of the Club shall be managed by a Council, consisting of the President, three Vice-Presidents, Secretary, Treasurer, and twelve Members. The Office-bearers shall be elected annually. Four of the Members of Council shall retire annually in rotation, and not be eligible for re-election for one year. The Council shall have power to fill up any vacancy arising throughout the year, to make bye-laws, and to appoint, for special purposes, Committees to which Members and Associates may be added. At all meetings of the Club nine shall be a quorum, and seven at meetings of Council.

VI. The Secretary shall keep proper minutes of the business and transactions, conduct official correspondence, have custody of, and be responsible for, all books, manuscripts, and other property placed in his charge, and shall submit an Annual Report of the proceedings of the Club.

VII. The Treasurer shall keep the Accounts of the Club, receive all monies, collect subscriptions, pay accounts after these have been passed by the Council, and shall present annually a duly audited statement relative thereto.

VIII. The Annual Meeting of the Club shall be held in January, at which the reports by the Secretary and Treasurer shall be read and considered, the Council and Auditors for the ensuing year elected, and any other competent business transacted.

IX. The Council shall arrange for such meetings throughout the year as they think expedient, and shall regulate all matters relative to the transactions and publications of the Club.

X. Members shall receive one copy of each of the works published by or on behalf of the Club as issued, but these shall not be supplied to any Member whose subscription is in arrear, until such has been paid.

Associates shall not be entitled to the Publications of the Club.

All papers accepted by the Council for publication shall become the property of the Club.

Contributors shall receive twenty copies of their communications. The Council shall have discretionary powers to provide additional copies for review, presentation, and supply to approved public bodies or societies.

XI. In the event of the membership falling to twelve or under, the Council shall consider as to the advisability of winding up the Club, and shall take a vote thereon of each Member whose subscription is not in arrear. Should the vote, which shall be in writing, determine that the Club be dissolved, the Council shall discharge all debts due by the Club, and shall then deposit in trust, with some recognised public institution or corporate body, any residue of funds or other properties, including all literary, artistic, and other material collected by the Club, for preservation, in order that the same may be available to students of local history in all time coming.

XII. Notice of any proposed alteration on this Constitution must be given in writing to the Secretary, to be intimated at the first meeting of the Club thereafter. Notice, embodying the full terms thereof, shall then be given by circular to each Member, not less than seven days prior to the meeting at which it is to be considered, but such proposed alteration shall not be given effect to unless supported by two-thirds of the Members present, or voting by proxy.

Printed by T. and A. CONSTABLE, Printers to His Majesty
at the Edinburgh University Press

